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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 2000



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# EAST EUROPE REPORT POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## REVIEW OF NEW BOOK ON HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN ROMANIA

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Mar 82 p 4

/Review by Al. Popescu of the book "The Hungarian Minority in Romania," edited by Sandor Koppandi and sponsored by the Institute of Political Sciences and Study of Nationalities Problems and the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality in Romania, Kriterion Publishing House

/Text/ The 29 authors of the interesting and comprehensive studies included in the recently published book "The Hungarian Minority in Romania" are party and state activists, scientists, teachers, authors and journalists, both Romanian and Hungarian, who have successfully undertaken to make this book a rich and timely contribution to the development of literature on the Hungarian minority in Romania, on its friendly coexistence with the Romanian people, and on its efforts to develop socialist Romania.

The book strikingly illustrates the fact that the revolutionary changes and innovations in Romanian political, economic and social activities have created the best framework for the development of socialist Romania, since the RCP policy provides the climate and conditions for the progress of all Romanian citizens' creative work in all fields of activity.

The articles entitled "From Habsburg Oppression to the Overthrow of Hitlerite Rule," "The Romanian Nation: Landmarks in its Construction and Evolution," "The Socialist Nation As a Higher Stage of National Development" and "Unity and Brotherhood Between the Romanian People and the National Minorities As a Motive Force of Contemporary Romania" are uniformly supplemented by the ariticles on specific problems within strictly defined subjects, such as "County Covasna's Present Image." The article "Education in the Mother Tongue" presents a striking picture of the current realities in Romania, as the right to education conclusively demonstrates the workers' complete freedom of expression regardless of their nationality. "Literature of the Natural Sciences" provides a chronological review (the first of its kind) of some of the more significant aspects (in the last 30 years especially) of the scientific work of some members of the Hungarian minority in Romania in mathematics, physics, chemistry, interdisciplinary studies, biology, the agricultural and geologic sciences, and medical practice and science. Another study concerns social thought in the years of the people's power. The articles on the work of Hungarian linguists in Romania, the Hungarian ethnographic studies being made today in several of socialist Romania's scientific institutes and museum, or the current collection of folklore are parts of the same uniform

picture. The articles include convincing facts and figures on the participation of workers of Hungarian nationality in the broad and comprehensive mass cultural movement in present-day Romania or in artistic activity. The article "The Hungarian Book in Romania" demonstrates by telling facts and figures that Hungarian books, like the German, Serbo-Croatian, Ukrainian and Yiddish ones, are of particular value on the publishing scene of socialist Romania and that, in addition to the Bucharest Kriterion Publishing House (the first minorities publishing house, founded by a party decision in December 1969), books are published in national minority languages by the Political Publishing House, the Dacia, Torch, Eminescu, Albatross, Ion Creangu and Ceres publishing houses, the Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, the Technical Publishing House, and the Didactic and Pedagogic Publishing House. Conclusive figures show that the said publishing houses cover all areas of the intellectual life of the Hungarian workers in Romania and all technical and artistic activities.

The book makes many other points illustrative of the intellectual life of the Hungarian workers in Romania, as in the article "Hungarian Literature in Romania." On the basis of the interpretation made four decades ago by Gabor Gaal, who took as a criterion of this literature its affiliation with Romania, the article concludes that "The social determinant of Hungarian literature in Romania is the whole reality in Romania and, within it, primarily the experience of the Hungarian minority and the resulting problems," a literature which "conforms to the trend of the most progressive endeavors .... and formulates the truths of modern humanism in lasting works." The articles should also be noted here that deal with some aspects of the history of Hungarian journalism in Romania, beginning with KIALTO SZO ("The Call") founded in 1921 and the social-cultural journals consistently performing their task of promoting the literature and combining the effort to foster the traditions with promotion of the new values created by our socialist activity, as well as the article "Information Media," which is a full and documented presentation of the many Hungarian-language dailies published in Romania today and of Romanian Radio and TV's broadcasts in Hungarian. The articles on the activity of the six Hungarian theaters in Romania, as well as those on matters musical and the fine arts, also bring out the uniform message of socialist Romanian culture.

"The Hungarian Minority in Romania" is unquestionably a worthy contribution to the readers' fuller information on the historical past and the political, economic and social conditions and atmosphere wherein the Hungarian minority in Romania lives and works, enjoying the fullest rights today and, together with all the workers and the entire people, contributing to the great objectives of socioeconomic development of the common fatherland, socialist Romania.

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#### SOME GYPSIES RESIST SOCIALIST LIFE

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 12 Mar 82 p 9

[Interview with Dr Jan Bubelini, secretary of the Commission for Problems of Gypsy Citizens, of the East Slovak Regional National Committee, by Eva Bombova: "Subject Instead of Object"; conducted on 12 March 1982 at Dr Bubelini's office]

[Text] The problems of social and cultural integration of gypsy citizens are very timely today, especially in the East Slovak Kraj where [2.7 percent of gypsy citizens in the SSR live in the 13 East Slovak okreses.

The Plachetkovs have demonstrated, even in the rugged conditions of the Slovak highlands, that they are among the most skilled forestry workers within the Slovak State Forests system.

The Lukases, a family from Presov, have become intimately familiar to television viewers throughout Czechoslovakia. The children, their father and grandfather have captivated audiences in the program "The Whole Family Sings," and at work, too, the two adult Lukases have an excellent reputation.

The life and work of the following can alse serve as good examples: Tibor Gazda from Zbiniece, Michal Banom from Lucky, Pavol Nistor from Inacoviece, Jan Kompus from Jasov, Pavol Gabor from Kaceroviece, longtime CPCZ member Comrade Polak from Medzevo, Dezider Balog, Pavol Cifra, and Jozef Joska from Kosice, Pavol Demeter from Ladomirova, Jan Sivak from Svidnik, Helena Conkova from Spisska Nova Ves, Jan Bikar from Svedlar, and hundreds of others.

Admittedly, there are also backward gypsy citizens who stubbornly cling to the old way of life into which their ancestors were forced long ago by an uncaring society. This is unfortunately documented by the gypsy settlements in

Bystrany, Rakusy, Nalepkova-Grina and elsewhere where many gypsy citizens are only interested in alcohol and shun work.

Their numbers, however, are much smaller than in the past.

[Question] How would you characterize the results of the social and cultural integration of gypsy citizens in eastern Slovakia during the period just elapsed?

[Answer] I should say right at the start that the problem of social and cultural integration of the gypsy population is not only timely but very complicated. Even though many gypsv citizens in our region still live the old way, the purposeful and systematic work of party and state organs, the Commission on Gypsy Affairs of the East Slovak Kraj National Committee [KNV]. other commissions and national committees of lower levels, social organizations, enterprises and plants, is producing positive results. In certain areas as, for example, in attendance of 3- to 5-year-old gypsy children of kindergartens, improvement in school attendance of older pupils, the tempo of state purchase and liquidation of gypsy hovels and settlements, in finding alternate housing corresponding to the gypsy share in the population, we in Slovakia have had excellent results. The aim of all our endeavor in this demanding sphere is to see to it that the gypsy population adopt the socialist way of life. The process of social and cultural integration of the gypsy population is of a complex character, which to us means the need to concentrate attention on the education of gypsy children, starting at an early age in the family, kindergarten, basic and higher schools, as well as better placement and stabilization of gypsy adolescents, employment of adults, improvement of their living environment and cultural well-being. We strive to make gypsy citizens not mere objects of concentrated educational influences and other types of care, but try to have them become activist subjects in the process of change in their living conditions.

[Question] As we have done in the introduction, we could also cite here many courageous gypsy citizens. Recognition by society and just reward for work performed, naturally makes this process of social and cultural integration easier for them. How well is the gypsy population prepared for this process?

[Answer] With respect to employment, of the more than 50,000 gypsy citizens of productive age, 68.2 percent have permanent or short-term jobs, while the overall employment average in Slovakia is 73 percent. The difference is caused primarily by the low percentage of gypsy working women which, as opposed to the high employment of males (93.9 percent), is only 41.1 percent, while the overall average in Slovakia is 50.9 percent. It is for this reason that the measures approved last year by the commission of the East Slovak KNV were focused on raising the employment of gypsy women 10 percent by 1985. Certain districts, such as Kosice City, Presov, and Vranov, will have to do more in the future to achieve this goal. The working gypsy population is most often found in the construction industry, agriculture and local administration, and even though there are cases of outstanding exceptions, most of them work as unskilled auxiliary labor. Consequently, we consider it especially

important in improving the gypsy employment situation, to concentrate on placement and stabilization of the young. Here we continue to have problems. especially in placing boys and girls who have completed their compulsory school attendance in the seventh or lower grades. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the number of gypsy children who completed required school attendance in the fifth or lower grades of the Dasic 9-Year Schools, dropped from 30.5 percent to 11.6 percent, while the number of gypsy pupils who completed their compulsory school attendance in the eighth or ninth grades rose from 26.7 percent to almost 50 percent. Improving their school performance is extremely important for the employment future of gypsy youth. In 1980, 8.8 percent more gypsy students completed their compulsory school attendance in the ninth grade than in 1975, and as much as 12.8 percent more did so in the eighth grade. This improvement, however, is still insufficiently reflected in increasing the number of students who continue their studies at secondary schools. As a rule, under the influence of parents, there survives a lack of interest in gypsy children in additional preparation for a career, and the tendency to find a paying job as early as possible is very strong.

[Question] From what you have just said, it is clear that in the process of social and cultural integration you are devoting much attention specifically to the young generations.

[Answer] Constant improvement in education and knowledge among gypsy children, students, and the young gnereally, was the most characteristic feature of the period just elapsed. We have gradually succeeded in raising the enrollment of gypsy 3- to 5-year-olds in kindergarten. Judge for yourself--in 1975 only 31.5 percent of gypsy children were enrolled in kindergartens in our kraj, by 1980 this rose to 61 percent, and last year to 63.8 percent. The East Slovak Kraj has thus achieved the highest enrollment of gypsy 3- to 5-year-olds in the Slovak Socialist Republic. We have succeeded in this endeavor thanks to the fact that with Slovak Government funding we have built or reconstructed more than 70 kindergartens. The most successful in this respect were the okreses of Roznava, Svidnik, and Michalovce, while performance will have to be improved in the Spisska Nova Ves, Vranov and Poprad okreses.

Much attention is also devoted to the enrollment and school attendance of older children. Following several years of stagnation, in the school year 1980/81 -- as compared with the preceding school year -- we have been successful in reducing the number of missed hours of instruction 11.9 percent per pupil, and the current status of 91.8 attended hours of instruction is the best in the SSR, namely, 5.8 better than the republic average. Most successful in this effort are the okreses of Humenne, Svidnik, Vranov, and Poprad, while a more intensive effort will be needed in the Presov and Michalovce okreses. Since a large segment of the gypsy population in our region still clings to the obsolete way of life, we currently accentuate continuous educational care for gypsy pupils through school associations and clubs, through the expansion of food catering, interest groups, optional instruction and summer recreation. The school association program is currently attended by 3,834 gypsy pupils. 6.815 of them eat in school cafeterias, which in the last year is an increase of 3.9 percent; 20.4 percent of gypsy students are involved in the special interest groups, and 54 percent of gypsy boys and girls are members of the

Pioneer Organization of the Socialist Youth Union. At a joint consultative meeting of the okres commissions for gypsy affairs and okres youth union secretaries late last year, we agreed on additional concrete measures to increase the participation of the Socialist Youth Union in the education of gypsy children, pupils, and youth. Within the framework of the recreational and educational summer camps where we focused especially on socially neglected children, we had 1,688 children last year. To illustrate further, such recreation was provided for 333 children in the West Slovak Kraj, 686 in the Central Slovak Kraj, and the city of Bratislava did not organize such activity at all. In our region, the recreational plan was fulfilled by the okreses of Bardejov, Humenne, Kosice countryside, Presov, and Spisska Nova Ves.

[Question] While the care which the national committees in the East Slovak Kraj devote to the young generation is clearly beginning to bear fruit, gypsy adults are often at a loss when trying to deal with housing or other problems.

[Answer] Throughout the region, in 25 communities and 12 districts, we continue to devel p the so-called Experiment in Raising the Hygienic and Sanitary Consciousness of Gypsy Citizens. The most serious problem is unquestionably housing. As of 31 December 1980, 2,450 gypsy citizens lived in hovels and 317 in settlements throughout the East Slovak Kraj. In accordance with measures adopted by the commission of the East Slovak KNV toward implementation of Slovak Government Directive No 141/1980, the KNV department of territorial planning and construction ordered from Stavoprojekt Kosice a series of urbanist studies which would govern the gypsy housing situation through 1990. These studies will be ready by April of this year. We anticipate that this step will represent a qualitative turn and will introduce into this area a certain sense of purpose, dedication and conceptual approach, while we realize that this is a very complicated problem. Meanwhile, we continue to improve the housing situation of gypsy citizens in the traditional manner, i.e., individual housing construction, purchase of older family houses, cooperative apartments allotted from the state and enterprise building program. We are also revaluating the possibilities which exist in individual okreses and in areas where the hovel concentration is the smallest, such as Humenne, Kosice City, Michalovce, Stara Lubovna, and Svidnik; these basic housing problems should be resolved even in the course of the current five-year plan. As I have already noted, it is complicated, nevertheless, the number of hovels will diminish. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan, this number dropped by 1,107, and the number of gypsv settlements by 111. In this area, we often have to struggle against prejudices and erroneous views. The outlook must be radically changed even in those national committees which, up to now, have acted with reluctance in allotting building sites for gypsy citizens, in other words, were opposed to purchases of family housing by gypsy citizens for fear that this would spread their presence throughout the area. We also hope for a more significant contribution by those plants and enterprises which employ gypsy citizens, in assisting to provide proper housing in accordance with the stabilization and overall care program.

[Question] Given your specialization in psychology, I believe it would be interesting to hear your views on relations between gypsies and other

citizens. The public is voicing certain legitimate complaints, such as, for instance, the high share of growy citizens in the crime rate, their tendency to shun work, etc., even though some of these preconceptions may be changing.

[Answer] I agree with you. These phenomena must be dealt with in a differentiated manner. Simply to condem and criticize is not enough. On various occasions, we try to put across the fact that for these gypsy citizens this country is as much their home as it is ours. Old political systems discriminated against them, society rejected them, and even today there survive erromeous contepts of the term "gypsy," even though we have achieved certain basic objective changes. If, instead of normal contacts with the rest of the population, they are left with no choice but to associate exclusively with those groups which are antisocial in nature, it is quite logical that this will be reflected in a higher share of the gypsies in the crime rate. We even encounter the view that the so-called gypsy problem should be the business of the gypsies themselves. We cannot agree with this. It is the business of seciety as a whole and this should become clear to all culturally mature citizens.

The various forms of care for gypsy workers we have used to die, however, should not leave them passive, they should rather stir themselves into activism and contribute themselves to changing their lives for the better. A person appreciates an accomplishment for which he has exerted a certain amount of energy. In this respect, for example, our best experiences in the housing problem have been in individual construction. What a person builds himself, to what he devotes his emergies and means, he appreciates most. There are a number of opportunities toward encouraging such a positive attitude toward one's environment, neighbors and society as a whole. When we build a gypsv settlement a drinking fountain, provide trash containers, or construct public toilets, we should try to interest the residents themselves to accept responsibility for these improvements and see to it, especially the young, that they are cared for rather than vandalized, as unfortunately is still often the case. State purchases of the hovels, subsidies, etc., should be conditioned on the fulfillment of certain obligations, such as reciprocal care for children, especially in encouraging their echool attendance. In the current phase, we plan to advance more forcefully in the organization of the activity of gypsy workers in plants and enterprises, and activism among other gypsy citizens in their place of resident. Such an effort to aid in the education and reeduca in of the gypsy population should become the concern of employers and social organizations, national and citizens committees, etc. All these are concrete approaches toward meeting the task I mentioned at the beginning, namely, to transform the gypsies from an object of social influences to an activist subject of changing conditions and their way of life to the socialist model.

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CSO: 2400/180

# TRIBUNA' ATTACKS ZIONISM AS 'MILITANT EXPANSIONIST IDEOLOGY'

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 9, 3 Mar 82 pp 8, 9

[Article by Ota Kratky]

Text] Zionism, which originated at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries during the era of transition of capitalism into an imperialistic stage, has changed in the past three decades from a bourgeois matimalist between into a militant expansionist ideology of chauvinist and anticommunist action of the Jewish grand bourgeoisie and world Jewish capitalism, Consequently, it was proper for the 30th mession of the Ch General Assessing to present the control of the Ch General Assessing to present the control of the Ch General Assessing to present the control of the Ch General Assessing the present the control of the Ch General Assessing the present the control of the Ch General Assessing the present the control of the Ch General Assessing the present the control of the Ch General Assessing the present the control of the Ch General Assessing the present the control of the Ch General Assessing the present the control of the Ch General Assessing the present the control of the Ch General Assessing the control of the Ch Gen

As stated in "Creeping Counterrevolution," a book written by the Seviet aster V. Byegum, the goal of Zioniam, the ideological and political representations a world Jewish capitalism, especially of Jewish-American capitalism, is rebuild . Greater Isrami, to take over the natural riches, especially significantly significantly significantly statement of the Arab nations and, with the help of this wealth, to reast a system of ultraimperialism in which world Jewish capitalism would become a religious dominant position and the Jewish grand bourgeoisie would become a religious to the entire world.

INSTRUMENT OF Designers of

founding. Zionism considered Judaism, a national religious scales, an important instrument for the dissemination of its influence. The degrals, cult and organizational structure of Judaism are, for historical reasons and he ause of the peculiarities of its teachings, basically accepted only by the leve. The history of Judaism is closely related to the history of the uld leve in-Hebrev-tribes. The history of Judaism is divided in its literature into leur periods: the biblical period, corresponding to the breakdown of the riginal social system; the talmodic period, justifying the "legality" laterers' oppression; the rabbinic period, attempting to falsely explain the situation of Jew. during feudalism; and the reform period, in which had an is accommodating itself to the conditions of imperialism.

The religious beliefs of the old levish nomadic tribes developed under the -tribe influence of the originial inhabitants of Palestine, namely, the

Arameans and other ancient nations. The Bible contains references to the worship of the "gold Calf" and "copper snake" whose cult is a remnant of totemic beliefs. However, as a result of the gradual appearance of a slave system with its seat in Jerusalem, the entire cult became centralized. From the originally polytheistic religion, worshiping a variety of gods, developed a cult of a single God called Yahveh, who was worshiped by the tribe of Judah as the personification of storm, fire and water.

The Jewish state was conquered many times by the stronger states of the Near East--Babylonians and Persians. During the fourth century B.C., this state was a part of the empire of Alexander the Great. During the first century A.D., the Jewish state was definitively subjugated by the Romans who destroyed the temple in Jerusalem in the year 70. Thus the adherents of Judaism lost their religious center. Moreover, many Jews emigrated abroad where they lived in the so-called Diaspora. While abroad, the Jews established religious communities and built their synagogues, whose functions were both cultural and administrative. These communities and synagogues were headed by rabbis--teachers of the law and judges who, as time progressed, acquired the sole right to interpret the "scriptures" and demanded blind obedience from their coreligionists. Because of their exclusivity and rituals, both hostile to nonbelievers. "Goys," the adherents of Judaism often got themselves into sharp conflicts with other montheist religious systems-Christianity and Islam--which shared with the Jews the same lack of tolerance for "nonbelievers" and used all available means to liquidate them.

During the capitalist era, there developed within the Jewish camp two main groups: Orthodox Jews who adhered faithfully to the old scriptures and Reform Jews who removed certain burdensome rules concerning meals, adapted their beliefs and cult to contemporary life and now try to establish a dialogue with Catholicism, Protestantism and Islam. At present, Judaism is the state religion of the Israeli state where, together with Zionism, it constitutes the basic ideological springboard for the aggressive imperialist policy of its ruling clique.

The teachings and cult of Judaism as we understand them have been developing for thousands of years. Amono the main dogmas belong a belief in the sanctity of the Old Testament and the Talmud, belief in the single God, Yahveh, belief in the future arrival of the Messiah (Savior), belief in an after life and that the Jewish nation was "chosen" by Yahveh to rule over inferior nations condemned by God. The source of the faith is the Old Testament (Tanach), especially the so-called Torah (the first five books of Moses, or the Pentateuch) and the Talmud--a collection of Jevish religious literature compiled between the third century B.C. and the fourth century A.D. The believer must observe an entire series of religious customs, prohibitions and orders, the number of which in the Talmud amounts to 613 (365 prohibitions and 248 requirements). Very burdensome rules exist in the area of permitted (kosher) and prohibited (traif) food, a prohibition on consuming dairy and meat products at the same meal or on eating pork, etc. Great significance is given in Judaism to circumcision, which originated as one of the forms of "initiation" rites even during the earliest social community.

Generally we can say about Judaism what we say about every religion: as such, it has historically justified and still justifies the private ownership of the means of production, class and social antagonisms, that it has served and still serves as an instrument for the spiritual enslavement of people. Fully applicable to Judaism are the words of V.I. Lenin who wrote in his letter to A.M. Gorky of December 1913: "A belief in God always put to sleep and deadened social feeling because it substituted the dead for the living and practiced slavery (the worst, unending slavery). The idea of God never linked the individual to society but always linked suppressed classes to a belief in the divine mission of oppressors."

# Part of the Ideological Arsenal of Zionism

No wonder that Zionism has included Judaism in its ideological arsenal, even if it would not be right to equate the two. The circumstances of their origin which link them to the manifestations of various forms of social consciousness are different. While Judaism is the form of social consciousness of the original communal and slave society containing tribal antagonisms and customs. Zionism is the ideology and policy of Jewish capitalism during the imperialist era. The two are related through their agreement on social class exploitation and roles.

The record shows that clerical Zionist circles classify any criticism of them as a manifestation of anti-Semitism, especially in the case of Marxist-Leninist criticism of the theory and practice of international Zionism or its ruling Israeli clique. Their point of departure is their own scheme which, contrary to reality, declares Zionism as the "common ideology of the world's Jewish nation," a "national movement." They declare Judaism is the basis of a "Jewish national style" and of the "national identity" of individual members. It is on this basis that they equate the terms Zionism, Judaism and Jew, and see any criticism of the first two as anti-Semitic. In order to improve the affectiveness of their arguments, a few other falsifications are added: anti-Semitism is deprived of its sociopolitical characteristics as a typical product and manifestation of imperialist policy aimed at dividing the working people of different nationalities and ethnical diversity and is considered as an "internal characteristic of each non-Jew." Quite rightly, a document on the International Symposium on Zionism and Racism (Tripoli, 1976) states: "There is nothing more dishonorable than an assertion that anti-Zionism is in itself anti-Semitism. This shameless allegation is based on the false premise which identifies Judaism with Zionism and Jews as Zionists." The fact remains that Zionism has met with major rejection by Jews themselves. It is also a fact that Judaism is clearly different from Zionism (and, in the view of many Jews, the two are incompatible) and that the majority of Jews refuse to join Zionist organizations, to identify themselves with Zionists, or to fulfill the basic Zionist obligation, namely, return to the "promised land." From the overall number of Jews in the world (approximately 14.5 million), less than I million affiliate themselves with various Zionist organizations. There are certain Jewish organizations, for example, the American National Council for the Decense of Judaism or American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism which reject identifying Judaism with Zionism. We can encounter similar phenomena even in Israel where certain Hassidic organizations have adopted very sharply anti-Zionist positions.

# Jews Without Religion

By analogy, it is not possible to equate Zionism with membership in the Jewish ethnic group. This cannot be done, but it is often attempted by the apologists of Judaism in relation to the "ethnic group and religion." In many countries of the world there are citizens of Jewish descent who are not only indifferent to the Jewish religion but are outright opponents of any religion.

Even in Israel where the ruling Zionist clique carries out a policy of religious dictatorship and violates consciences, a large part of the Jewish population has adopted an indifferent and sometimes a negative posture toward Judaism. As stated by Soviet scholar G. Banakurskiy, public opinion polls have shown that only 15 percent of the Israeli adult population favor theocracy, i.e., a political system in which the clergy rules and the church is the foundation of the political system. Over 30 percent of the adult population favor a completely secular state. The rest either is for a "close relationship" between state and religion, or propose separation of the synagogue from the state and separation of the school system from the synagogue.

In Israel, Judaism has become the dominant form of religion with the status of an "established church." This state does not have a unified constitution. There are laws adopted by the Knesset (parliament) which have a racist or chauvinist character. Discrimination is applied not only to Arabs but to Jews themselves according to their origin, social status and length of residence in the country. According to a 1952 law, Israeli citizenship can be denied to those Jews who do not practice Judaism but belong to other religions or are without religion. A professional cult apparatus, namely, the rabbis, exercises full control in the country: through a variety of requirements and prohibitions they supervise the entire existence of believers including their everyday lives. A law, for example, prohibits marriage between a Jewish and non-Jewish citizen. The wife cannot end a marriage; only husbands have such right. The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel consequently characterized the situation in the country as one of "religious violence."

Jewish teaching, especially the Torah and Talmud, sanctifies the exploitation of man by man. Their ideal man, as stated in the encyclopedic work by a group of Soviet authors entitled "ABC of Atheism," is a devoted slave deprived of feelings of human dignity. Talmudic literature contains unscientific views concerning nature and human life. Several great Jewish thinkers, Uriel d'Acosta, Spinoza, and others subjected the Jewish religion to severe criticism and condemned its antihumanism. Because of these characteristics, ideological Judaism has become a pillar of Zionism.

1277

CSO: 2400/187

# SLOVAK TU CONGRESS RESOLUTION, AUDIT REPORT PUBLISHED

Slovak ROH Congress Resolution

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 9 Mar 82 p 4

[Resolution of Slovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] Congress]

[Text] The Slovak ROH Congress took place at a time characterized by worker activity in the carrying out of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the resolution of the CPSL Congress. It is a period of creative efforts by our people to bring about the implementation of demanding tasks in the interest of the further development of our socialist society.

We are living at a time when the most reactionary imperialist circles, above all in America, are causing tension on a world scale by their aggressive policies. This type of imperialist policy sharpens the international situation, and even threatens peace. The political and economic crisis of the capitalist world is depriving millions of its people of employment and basic social insurance. The events in contemporary Poland are an expression of this aggressive imperialist policy, where it was only thanks to the determined conduct of forces loyal to socialism that a fratricidal bloodbath was avoided. For this reason, in the name of the more than 2 million ROH members in Slovakia, we declare our full support for the Military Council of National Salvation, and its extraordinary measures for the consolidation of the situation, for the u if at on of unions and workers, for the strengthening of the power of the workers and farmers in fraternal Poland. In accordance with the decision of all ROH members, we are prepared in all respects to assist our class allies in their efforts to strengthen socialism in Poland.

Delegates to the Slovak ROH Congress express their full support for the peaceful program of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 16th CPCZ Congress and their basic line in foreign policy.

The entire precongress period was marked by increased activity by union organs and organizations, functionaries and members of the ROH for the implementation of the congress resolutions, for an increase in the efficiency of production, for the high quality of all work. This is evident in the efforts to welcome with new labor successes the 10th All-Union Congress, as well as the upcoming 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Red Unions in Czechoslovakia.

The Slovak ROH Congress assessed the results of the work of union organs and organizations in the SSR in implementing the line adopted by the 15th CPCZ and CPSL congresses and in the implementation of the resolutions set down by the Ninth All-Union Congress for the carrying out of the program and objectives of the workers policy of the CPCZ in the Slovak ROH.

The congress has expressed its support for the policy of the CPCZ and its determination to participate actively in the fulfillment of tasks of economic and social development during the years of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. This period will require increased efforts by every ROH member and by all workers because we will fulfill the tasks under difficult conditions brought about by both external and internal influences.

The delegates to the Slovak ROH Congress appreciate the recognition accorded them by the CPSL Congress in March 1981 for union work in Slovakia. This appreciation stimulates us, but also commits us. It commits us to a situation in which union organs and organizations and all ROH members are obliged to develop more thoroughly and at a higher level of quality and intensify their multifaceted activity. The Slovak Union Council and ROH organs in Slovakia will mobilize the workers, under CPCZ leadership, and win them over to labor, civic and political activity so that they will consciously fulfill their daily tasks.

The recent past has confirmed the correctness and utility of cooperation between the SOR [Slovak Trade Union Council] and the SSR Government, cooperation which has also deepened among other state and economic organs and ROH organs, especially trade unions, ministries and VHJ [economic production units] during the assurance of state plan targets and as a result of concern for workers. As a result of this common approach, additional results have been achieved in many sectors of union and economic life. With this in mind, we will continue to deepen the joint approach of state, economic and union organs, so that this becomes a regular and permanent technique for increasing the efficiency of work.

The Slovak ROH Congress has stated that the period between congresses has been marked by increased activity of union organs and organizations, of functionaries and ROH members for the implementation of congress resolutions.

Union organs and basic organizations have on each occasion participated more intensively in the deepening and increasing of the quality of worker participation in the management and development of production. By means of socialist competition, production conferences and collective agreements there has been a further deepening of worker participation in the management and control of production and a development of socialist democracy.

In accordance with the application of the Set of Measures, and with the requirement for increasing the efficiency of production and the quality of all work, there has been a rise in the organization of various forms of labor initiatives. Additional progressive forms and techniques of work have arisen and developed. Progressive experiences, especially those of Soviet workers, have been applied and expanded.

The participation of union organs in the implementation of the rationalization of the work and wage systems has increased. With the implementation of the resolution of the Ninth All-Union Congress, concern for workers has increased, especially in the areas of health care, prevention and safety on the job, and the number of participants in factory catering and recreation programs has increased. Problems remain, however, in transportation to and from work, in working and living environments and in population services.

The sophistication of the organizational and political work of ROH organs in Slovakia has increased. The training of personnel has increased in quality, as has the selection and education of the corps of functionaries. Mass participation of ROH members has been achieved at union shops and in socialist labor schools. Union education departments have been providing iffective assistance in this schooling and education.

The 16th CPCZ Congress outlined the task of intensifying social production as a strategic line of economic development corresponding to a developed socialist society. The Seventh Five-Year Plan requires new progressive changes in approaches to, forms of, techniques and instruments of economic management which are rooted in the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy after 1980.

The annual member meetings and conferences of basic organizations, the okres, kraj and Slovak conferences of trade unions, the all-union conference and the Slovak ROH Congress have stated that the ROH membership and a majority of the workers comprehend the difficulty of the present period and the seriousness of the problems which exist in the economic area. At the same time, they have pointed to the necessity for focusing all efforts on overcoming these problems as the basic precondition for the further increase of the living standards and cultural sophistication of our people.

The Slovak ROH Congress considers the participation of the ROH and a deepening of its work in the implementation of the economic and social development objectives of the CSSR from 1981-1985 to be a critical task. The work of union organs and basic organizations will give priority to a strengthening of joint responsibility for the solution of societywide problems, for the nevelopment of worker initiatives directed at an increase in the efficiency of production and product quality throughout the entire national economy. A large role will be played in this by the greater efficiency of production conferences, the more thorough participation of workers in counterplanning and a fuller application of the Set of Measures. Higher expectations for the quality of all work must become a matter for every working person.

We are turning to trade union organs and basic organizations, so that under the leadership of the CPCZ and in cooperation with state and economic organs and in conjunction with the Union of Socialist Youth they may create the conditions for the daily participation of workers in administration and the management of production. To the greatest extent possible, we must orient worker initiatives toward greater conservation of energy, raw materials and inputs generally, and toward their more extens 've participation in scientific and technical development.

In the development of the agriculture and food complex, initiatives are to be developed for the more complete utilization and mobilization of under-utilized capacity in the production and processing of agricultural raw materials, thereby strengthening self-sufficiency in foodstuff production. Other branches as well, especially the machine building and chemical industries, must also effectively contribute to the fulfillment of these tasks.

In the movement "Everyone in a Socialist Manner" we will develop proven as well as innovative forms of worker initiatives, both ours and Soviet, which are contributing to the dynamic and efficient development of the national economy. We will more decisively utilize and expand the Saratov Zero-Defect System, the Lvov model of the comprehensive management of quality and production, the Zlobinov technique of brigade khozraschet, and others which are directed at the qualitative indicators of plan fulfillment, at the efficient linking of the economic and educational function of initiative and socialist competition.

In the interest of the further qualitative development of the national economy, we will support multilaterally invention—and improvement—producing activity, comprehensive rationalization brigades, hundred thousandaires and millionaires and other progressive forms of technically creative initiative. There is also great significance in the more efficient linking of theoretical worksites with production, which substantially speeds up the research—production—utilization cycle.

We are devoting separate attention and concern to the organization and development of international socialist competition, to the adoption of joint socialist commitments, especially to increase the quality of final products and to fulfill capital investment targets.

We will also orient worker initiatives toward the further improvement and beautification of working and living environments. In krajs and okreses, we will use for this purpose agreements concerning common approaches with the appropriate national committees, in conjunction with the development of the "Unionists for Their Own Factory and Republic" movement and to assist Project "Z". We will regularly monitor measures which are adopted, individually within the limits of Bratislava where there are increased tasks. We will take a more active role in the protection of agricultural land, especially that which is arable, and see to it that it is fully utilized.

Furthermore, we will actively assist in the strengthening of socialist legality. We will utilize our own rights and responsibilities in the interest of upholding socialist labor discipline, the use of working time, the strengthening of technical discipline and the protection of property which is under socialist ownership. This also includes the defense and protection of the legal rights of workers and their justifiable interests. We will continue to pay attention to increasing our concern for the protection of health and for safety on the job, and to improve working and living conditions, especially for working women and youth.

Socialist compensation according to the amount, quality and social significance of work belongs among the gains of the working class and revolutionary unions. For this reason the congress requests that all union organs and basic organizations, and especially trade union organs, fight more energetically for the practical implementation of socialist compensation principles. The task is to conduct a decisive campaign against mediocrity and egalitarianism. At the same time, we must more significantly apply the right of joint decisionmaking and cooperation in this area.

In union work, an especially significant place is occupied by concern for the workers. It is the responsibility of union organs and basic organizations to increase the quality of this activity. Collective agreements must play their role in this area, both for the development of production and compensation and for the improvement of working conditions, increases in worker qualifications, the creation of conditions for recreation, rest and the proper use of free time and an overall socialistic life style. In this field, it is desirable that union organs exert a more active influence, along with state and economic organs, on the pooling of resources, on the reconstruction, building and operation of preschool catering, social, recreational, sporting and cultural facilities while respecting frugality and appropriateness.

The congress, then, expects that union organs and basic organizations will thoroughly implement their rights and fulfill the responsibilities which accrue to them from their position and role in a socialist society, and their responsibilities to their own members.

All union organs and basic organizations are to deepen the socialist consciousness of workers through systematic ideologically educational work. The educational work of union organs and organizations must be directed to the daily revolutionary struggle for courageous and responsible work, for labor discipline, for socialist ties among people, and must lead them to acts which contribute to the building and welfare of a socialist society. We must exert a greater influence on the intensification of a scientific world view among workers, and we must actively and effectively strengthen socialist patriotism and the international ties among our peoples and nationalities, among 'ne working classes of the SSR and the CSR, with the workers of the countries of the socialist community. We must also take the offensive and be more decisive in the struggle against the influences of bourgeois ideology. Economic propaganda and agitation by way of explaining the economic policy of the CPCZ must likewise become an inseparable component of the ideologically educational work of the ROH, and must contribute to the political awareness and increased work activity of workers.

A developed socialist society places high demands on the multilateral political and professional education of its younger generation. Union organs focus their efforts, above all, on the youngest generation of the working class, the apprentices and young workers, so that they win them over to the goal of socialist construction. It is a matter of their proper integration into the work collective, of the mastery of professional expertise and of a socialist life style. There is a need to be more attentive in solving their work and life problems as well, and to increase the percentage of young

unionists in the activities of union organizations. It is necessary to increase the influence of work collectives and of socialist work brigades and the best workers on apprentices and working youth.

Union press and literature has an important place in politicoeducational work. We will continue to intensify its party orientation, ideological slant and aggressive posture, and see to it that all publishing and printing activity is in accordance with BOH tasks and that its content is focused on the immediate needs of a broad unionist audience.

Union organs and organizations will develop this cultural-educational work in the spirit of the cultural policy of the CPCZ and the resolution of the 10th All-Union Congress. Factory clubs and houses of culture of the ROH will deepen their cooperation with national committees and cultural institutions. Through close cooperation and the fulfillment of individual plans for cultural-educational activities, they will increase the sophistication and the content of cultural and politically educational undertakings and influence the development of culture and of the human personality. From the ROH House in Bratislava is expected the full development of its activity as a useful institution of the SOR.

In the development of mass physical education, we will strengthen and intensify the cooperation of ROH organs with physical education units and organs of the Czechoslovak physical education union. We will systematically increase the number of unions for the development of mass physical education and the self-defense training of the population as an inseparable component of the socialist life style.

The Slovak ROH Congress announces its conviction that all union organs, basic organizations and the corps of functionaries will strengthen the ideological, organizational and the resultant unity in action of the ROH as a whole, so that in this way they may fulfill the demanding tasks and basic functions of socialist unions in a higher quality manner. The content of the politico-organizational work of union organs and organizations must reflect a concern for the development of the internal life of the union, in particular an increase in the political activity, educational influence and level of the content of meetings of members at union shops, and in workshop and basic organizations as a manifestation of socialist democracy. The congress requires of all union organs that they thoroughly and regularly gather critical comments and suggestions from meetings of members and use them to correct shortcomings and also for an overall increase in the sophistication of political and educational work.

Personal concern requires work with shop and other stewards in union shops. We must assure that the shop steward in all basic organizations become a true confidant of the members and workers of a union shop.

The tasks outlined by the 16th CPCZ Congress and the Resolution of the CPSL Congress are demanding, but meetable. Their implementation requires that union organs, from the SOR right through the ROH factory organizations, apply and integrate into their life the Leminist style and techniques of work.

Democratic centralism is to be applied consistently, internal union democracy is to be developed, as is a collective orientation in decisionmaking and the fundamentals of criticism aimed at the discovery of shortcomings and their correction, to an improvement in techniques and forms of work by union organs and their functionaries.

Regular monitoring of the resolution and the generalization of positive experiences must be implemented at every level of ROH activity.

We will devote greater attention to the selection, political and professional training of functionaries, members of election organs, commissions, lecturers and propagandists, so as to increase their role in the implementation of policy in a spirit of high expectations which correspond to the role and mission of the ROH in our society.

The consistent practical application of democratic centralism must be marked by united efforts of trade unions and all-union organs at all levels of activity to increase their capacity for action related to the fulfillment of tasks and resolutions of congresses and plenary meetings of organs.

A permanent principle in the work of ROH organs and organizations must be unity in the assertion of the basic objectives of the building of a developed socialist society.

By raising the quality of the level of work of union organs, we must strengthen the unity of the membership and carry to completion the basic responsibilities of every member, regularity in paying ROH membership dues, upholding of the principles of managing the financial resources and property of the ROH. At the same time, it is necessary to deepen controlling activity and the activity of auditing commissions at all levels of the organizational structure.

Union organs and organizations in the SSR will continue to govern themselves by the URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] unified plan of international and friendly contacts. They will support and develop the ROH Solidarity Fund and the development of friendly agreements with the objective of deepening and strengthening mutual relations, the recognition and exchange of experiences, particularly concerning the union life of socialist countries and of Soviet unions. The activities of the WFTU are to be supported, focused as they are on the strengthening of international unity and the preservation of world peace.

Through its participation in the fulfillment of the Communist Party program, the Slovak Trade Union Council and all ROH organs and organizations will actively contribute to the realization of the peaceful policy of the CPSU Congress and the 16th CPCZ Congress for the assurance of the most important task which now stands before humanity—the defense of peace.

The delegates to the Slovak congress and the entire membership of the ROH are proud of the results and gains of socialism. They are fully sware that these results are based on the work of millions of courageous workers, farmers

and other employees. And a contented life in the future also depends on good work, and on the results of it.

Union organs and organizations in Slovakia are determined to contribute actively, do their part, and devote all of their work to the fulfillment of the demanding tasks of today and tomorrow. They call upon all unionists in the SSR to demonstrate through their daily creative work their patriotic attitude to our socialist society, to their homeland. This is the path to the development of the riches of our country, to the strengthening of the power of the working class and our socialist order.

We proclaim our conviction that through common work and new labor activities we will fulfill the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the Resolution of the CPSL Congress and contribute to the further development of our socialist homeland, to the strengthening of peace.

# Audit Commission Report

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 9 Mar 82 p 4

[Text] The Auditing Commission has based its work on documents of the Ninth All-Union Congress and Slovak ROH Congress, and on the regulations and appropriate documents approved by the URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] for union management.

The Ninth All-Union Congress charged the union organs and ROH basic organizations with increasing the organizational level of unions, with strengthening discipline in the payment of dues, with the achievement of maximal managerial efficiency, with the merging of union resources with the objective of assuring the long-range needs of members and of workers, with an increase in concern for union property, with an intensification of controlling efficiency and an increase in the activity of auditing commissions.

The established tasks in the area of concert for union property had as their objective the assurance of sufficient financial and material resources for rich ROH activity, concerning which none other than L. Abraham, SOR [Slovak Trade Union Council] chairman, spoke in the above-mentioned report, and concerning which data has been presented in the written factual report which delegates received.

The Auditing Commission, therefore, has set as its goal the monitoring and controlling of the fulfillment of the main source of revenues, namely from the collection of membership dues. While in 1976 the annual volume of dues collections amounted to Kcs 399 million in the SSR, by 1981 a level of Kcs 510 million had been schieved. In the SSR, 99 percent of the full-time workers are organized within ROH, which is the greatest percentage in its history. Toward the end of last year, the number of ROH members had reached 2,056,036, which is an increase of 187,024 members in comparison with 1977. The average stamp value has also increased, from Kcs 18.66 in 1976 to Kcs 21.14 in 1981.

These data convincingly confirm the fulfillment of the tasks set by the Ninth All-Union Congress. A high level of union organization means that the ROH may, through its members, discharge its function at all work sites. This basic precondition for union activity has been achieved through the excellent mass political work of union organs and auditing commissions and through the committed activity of the ROH functionary corps.

The fulfillment and exceeding of the plan for dues collections has created the conditions for the financial assurance particularly of politico-organizational and cultural-educational work as well as work in the area of concern for ROH members and their family members. This has meant that, with frugal and effective utilization, union organs and basic organizations have had sufficient financial resources for their activities.

Even in view of the favorable development in the collection of dues, there are still ROH basic organizations for which collections are not being realized either in terms of time or in the desired amounts. The appropriate union organs should provide these organizations with the necessary assistance.

The Ninth All-Union Congress set the task of convincing ROH members to collect solidarity stamps, a task to which the Auditing Commission has devoted special attention.

The Auditing Commission has verified through its monitoring activities whether union financial resources have been expended economically and effectively. It has paid attention to and required that managerial-administrative outlays not increase more rapidly than revenues, a policy which has been assisted by the conservation measures of the SOR, which have been focused primarily on the conservation of fuel, energy and office supply consumption.

The SOR and all-union organs, as well as their specific facilities in the SSR have been financed by and managed on the basis of a set-aside percentage of dues and other special revenues within the contraints of budgets approved by the SOR. In the compilation of these budgets, the Auditing Commission saw to it that principles of frugality and efficiency were upheld. It verified by inspection the adherence to budgetary discipline in management. It can contirm, on the basis of its own findings, that through a broad application of the principles of union financial policy, the principles of democratic centralism, of internal union democracy, of a plan orientation, efficiency and economy consciousness, management sophistication has increased in union organs and basic organizations and in the administration of union property.

In spite of these positive developments in union management, we cannot fail to notice shortcomings which are still evident. There are instances in which the expenditure of financial resources violates the guidelines concerning frugality, and it is not always the case that financial resources are expended effectively. In certain instances, supervisory organs have had to take up the issue of the improper management of specific basic organizations and union organs. In these cases it was determined that the Auditing Commission had not carried out its responsibilities.

One of the important areas of concern for BOH members and their family members is union capital investment, for which a significant portion of financial resources is expended. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan in the SSR, Ecs 1,135,000,000 was invested. Operation was begun of 6 vacation homes, 77 Pioneer camps, 9 cultural facilities, including this ROH House, in which we are holding discussions, facilities related to the social program and other projects.

Currently, construction is proceeding on 6 vacation homes, 3 of which are to begin operations this year, as well as 3 cultural facilities, 41 PTs, kindergartens, day-care centers, etc.

For the Seventh Five-Year Plan, an investment of just Kcs 680 million is projected for these purposes.

Capital investment requires systematic attention within overall union activity. Union construction projects, in particular, have suffered from shortcomings in construction capacity. Cooperation between the SOR and the Ministry of Construction assisted in a positive way in the resolution of the problems which had arisen.

At the present time, it will be more necessary that union organs devote multilateral attention to union construction projects, beginning from their preparation and continuing through the beginning of their operation. The objective must be to succeed in fulfilling the construction plan, within the constraints imposed by efficiency, quality and frugality. The Auditing Commission will assist in this regard through its munitoring activities.

The specific facilities of the SOR play an important role in RON activities. The SOR periodically inspects their management. The Auditing Commission reviews the results of these periodic audits and implements selective inspections.

The ROH press and publishing house, Praca, is one specific facility which makes a profit in its operations which contributes to the overall revenues of the SOR. The daily PRACA has seen a continually increasing trend in its subscriptions, as has union literature. In this area it is desirable to satisfy additional requirements.

The Frantisek Zupek Union School in Sladkovicov fulfills an important function in the education of the union functionary corps. The construction of a residential part to the school has improved its conditions. However, the full capacity of the school is still not being used in the conduct of planned courses which increases the per participant costs of the school. Trade union and all-union organs have as one of their tasks the sending of functionaries to courses according to the plan.

ROH houses in Zilina and Presov are provided with subsidies by the SOR.

Their management is, therefore, under a direct periodic control of the SOR and under the control of the Auditing Commission. There is a problem in that the subsidies for the activities of both ROH houses, especially the one in

Zilina, are increasing each year. Local organizations, and especially national committees should, in their own interest, contribute financially to the coverage of outlays, since the Houses of Culture serve the population of their city and okres.

The ROM House in which our congress is taking place is an important specific facility of the SOR. It began its activities last year. The SOR and the Auditing Commission have set as their goal to devote attention to its management from the beginning, to assist through control in establishing a proper management approach and to take comsistent care of the entrusted property. The objective is to reduce costs while fully developing the activities of cultural facilities in conjunction with potential savings.

Auditing commissions are charged in ROH regulations with the task of monitoring the timeliness of the clearance of workers' papers being sent to union organs. The Auditing Commission has regularly verified whether papers which have been received are passed on in a timely manner at the SOR. It is possible to state that with a few complicated exceptions where the situation required further investigation, workers' papers have been cleared in a timely fashion.

Our congress and the 10th All-Union Congress will outline significant and demanding tasks for further ROH activity. Implementation of these tasks will require the systematic development of politico-organizational, ideological, educational and cultural work, as well as concern for ROH members and the members of their families. It will also place increased demands on the financial and material assurance of these activities. In this regard, union organs, basic organizations and their auditing commissions will have to exercise the responsible function which has been entrusted to them.

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## CZECH TU CONGRESS RESOLUTION PUBLISHED

Prague PRACE in Czech 2 Mar 82 supplement pp 1-8

[Resolution of the Czech Revolutionary Trade Union Congress, held 26-28 February 1982; portions within slantlines in boldface]

[Text] The Czech Revolutionary Trade Union (ROH) Congress, which was held 26-28 February 1982, discussed the role of Czech Socialist Republic unionists in the realization of the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the resolution of the Ninth All-Union Congress.

CSR union organs and organizations, under the leadership of the CPCZ, have actively and conscientiously contributed to the further development of our socialist society. Through their active efforts, they have assisted in strengthening the leadership role of the working class and of its vanguard, the CPCZ, and in strengthening the ideological and organizational union of the ROH.

Unionists in the CSR have contributed to a strengthening of the international ties of the ROH with unions in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, have participated in projects organized by the WFTU to display their solidarity with progressive world forces and have fully supported all initiatives directed at a strengthening of world peace.

They have actively shared in the activities of CSR National Front organs, in the preparation and fulfillment of election programs.

Cooperation has intensified with state and economic agencies in the resolution of binding measures in the economy and social policy. There has been success in increasing the role of unions in worker participation in management, in the development of work initiatives, in a comprehensive concern for workers through the improvement of working and living conditions. Ideological, educational and cultural efforts have been organized more systematically.

Union unity has been strengthened and the capability of unions for action in the carrying out of all their functions has increased. Internal union life has increased in quality, as has member participation in the work of union organizations. The role of the basic organizations of the ROH and of union shops has been strengthened.

The Czech ROH Congress states that the main directives established by the resolution of the last Czech ROH Congress in 1977 have been, basically, fulfilled.

The Czech Congress Has Discussed and Approves:

/-- the report of the Czech Union Council concerning the current activities and further tasks of the ROH in the CSR;

/-- the report of the Czech Union Council Auditing Commission.

/The annual member meetings and conferences of the basic organizations and higher union organs have evaluated the work of unionists in the CSR, expressed the firm unity of the ROH and their determination to carry out consistently their share of the responsibility for the implementation of the directives of the 16th CPCZ Congress, which the 10th All-Union Congress will integrate into the conditions of union activity.

/We foresee the activity of union organs and organizations in the CSR for the upcoming period in terms of active and decisive support for the policy of the CPCZ and its leading role in society, in terms of an increase in the role of unions in the implementation of the directives of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

/These demanding tasks require an intensifying of union participation in the work of the National Front, aimed at the development of labor activity and the social involvement of workers, an increase in the quality of cooperation with state and economic organs, a strengthening of international ties with unions of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as well as with progressive world forces, and active participation in all projects concerned with the preservation and strengthening of world peace./

During the upcoming period, the Czech ROH Congress will focus the activity of all union organs and organizations in the CSR on the following critical areas:

i. Worker Participation in National Economic Management

Carrying out the objectives for the economic and social development of society outlined by the 16th CPCZ Congress, and maintaining the current standard of living and social certainties of workers requires a more decisive approach to the resolution of questions of efficiency, the quality of all work, and the intensification of social production.

To achieve these objectives, union organs and organizations of the ROH in the CSR will further /intensify the economic function of unions/, and organize along with state and economic organs, labor and creative worker initiatives and assist effectively in the assurance of the development tasks for the national economy which have been approved through 1985.

ROH union organs and organizations in the CSR will direct their efforts toward the following tasks:

--Active assistance in the gradual /implementation of the Set of Measures/
for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy After
1980 by a further intensification and increase in the quality of worker
participation in the management of production, but above all in their participation in plan preparation and implementation as well as in the monitoring of its fulfillment and in the evaluation of the results which have been
achieved;

organs to the organization of /worker participation in management/. A breakdown of the plan must be requested for individual work sites, and regular monitoring must take place as provided for in the Principles of the CSR Government and Central Trade Union Councils of 1980. The knowledge and experience of employees, of the best employees, of innovators and improvers, must be utilized in order to come up with internal underutilized capacity for the undertaking and implementation of counterplans for increases in requested production. In conjunction with the plan proposal, the main directions of the development of worker initiatives, as well as basic criteria for the organization, evaluation and interpretation of the results of socialist competition and directives for the activity of comprehensive rationalization brigades are to be outlined;

--In conjunction with the economic leadership, /an increase in the sophistication and efficiency of production conferences/, seeing to it that they take place regularly and that all of the positive suggestions and comments of employees are utilized and implemented. The results and effectiveness of production conferences are to be evaluated, and suggestions and comments which are received are to be acted on in a consistent manner;

--The creation of conditions for the further development of the /socialist work brigade movement/ through an application of Principles of the CSR Government and Central Trade Union Councils. Their work is to be examined regularly and the achieved results evaluated morally and materially according to merit. Their influence is to be increased on the formation of a socialist consciousness and the character traits of individual members;

--In conjunction with economic organs, all proven forms of initiative are to be focused on a higher valuation and /more rational utilization of all forms of fuel and energy, raw materials and materials/, on the economical use of bulk fodders and on intensification of agricultural production. There is to be active participation at the enterprise and factory level in the fulfillment of the established objective—the achievement in individual years in the national economy of a minimal average 2 percent annual conservation of fuel and energy and a 4.5 to 5 percent annual conservation of metals in production, and an increase in the utilization of metal waste and other secondary raw materials. The creative initiative of workers is to be organized and focused on the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the qualitative indicators of the national economic plan, on an increase in the

efficiency and quality of production, an increase in exporting ability, and on the production of goods which are in short supply for the domestic market;

--Assistance in increasing self-sufficiency in foodstuff and agricultural raw-material production. To this end, worker initiative in chemical and machine-building enterprises is to be developed in the direction of assuring deliveries for agriculture, especially of industrial fertilizers, agrochemicals, machinery, tools and technical equipment. In the foodstuff industry, the focus must be on the improved valuation of raw materials, an expansion and increase in the quality of the product mix, an increase in its usable life and quality:

--In conjunction with economic organs, the more consistent organization of /internal enterprise socialist competition/ among individuals, collectives, socialist work brigades, the same or similar professions, whose work results may be compared and evaluated. There is to be a more conscientious organization of the generalization and expansion of proven experiences and new working methods of the best employees, heroes of socialist labor, the most decorated collectives, or our own and Soviet innovators. In the organization of initiatives and socialist competition, no elements of formalism or bureaucratism can be allowed. Reaction is to be flexible to the conditions of individual work sites, and the forms of initiative and the competitive considerations of internal enterprise socialist competition are to be adapted to them. Declarations of socialist commitments and of various exhortations which are of a proclamatory nature and do not relate to the commitments of collectives and individuals are not to be permitted;

--Expanded worker participation in scientific and technical development through the creation and implementation of /inventions and suggestions for improvements/. Efforts are to be made to assure that, during the Seventh Five-Year Plan, new technical solutions at the invention level will increase by 2-2.5 percent, the creation of improvement suggestions and industrial models will increase by at least 3-5 percent, of declared thematic objectives by 5-5 percent, that social benefits from utilized inventions and improvement suggestions will increase by at least 5-6 percent, so that the overall social benefit in the Sevent. Five-Year Plan will amount to at least Kcs 34 billion;

--In conjunction with economic organs, a still more conscientious concentration of the forces, experience and abilities of leading workers and technicians in /comprehensive rationalization brigades/ on the critical tasks of technical development and on the fulfillment of the comprehensive socialist rationalization program;

--Stimulating the initiative of employees of design organizations, of construction, technological and other preproduction divisions whose activity significantly influences the level of quality and the efficiency of all work. All proven forms of initiative are to be utilized for this, especially /"Personal Creative Plans"/;

-- A further continuation of the organizing of the creative /initiatives of employees of the scientific and technical base/ in order to increase the

efficiency and quality of scientific research efforts and to speed up the practical introduction of scientific findings. To this end, there is to be an expansion of the merging of socialist commitments of research institutes and production enterprises, as well as the socialist competition of the research and development base organized by the Czech Union Council and the CSR Ministry of Technology and Development;

--An increase in the activity of union organs, and especially of union councils, at critical construction projects for the stimulation and organization of initiatives for the /timely and high-quality completion of construction projects/ and the startup of new operations. Attention is to be concentrated in particular on selected projects related to the fuel and energy base. The conclusion of joint socialist commitments is to be organized and the responsibility of union organs for the monitoring and fulfillment of commitments in contracting and assembly organizations increased. Favorable working, living, health care and cultural conditions are to be created for construction workers;

--The introduction and multilateral support of the formulation and consistent implementation of programs /to increase the economic efficiency of the wage system/ for the years of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. Most attention is to be focused on the systematic expansion and increase in the quality of labor-consumption standards, service standards and norms for the numbers of employees. Care is to be taken that these improved standards and norms be utilized for a substantial expansion of task wages not only for production workers, but also in assistance, service, managerial and administrative activities;

--The efficient application of the principle that /wage growth will be in full accordance with the level which has been achieved in the growth of labor productivity/. The socialist principle of compensation according to the results of work must be asserted as the real criterion of the evaluation of achieved results of labor;

--/The introduction of internal enterprise khozraschet/ must be supported, and much more attention than to date must be devoted to the consistent application of economically efficient wage forms, especially of premiums and bonuses tied to the conservation of fuels, propellants, energy, raw materials, materials and the overall reduction of costs, and increases in the quality and efficiency of production and services;

--Attention to the consistent carrying out of /"Principles of the CSR Government and Central Council of Trade Unions for the Conclusion, Content, and Monitoring of Collective Agreements"/, and the inclusion in these agreements of tasks which are concrete, feasible, for which specific people are made accountable, which have completion schedules and are, therefore, monitorable. Economic management must be required to apply penalties against employees responsible for the failure to fulfill commitments in collective agreements.

II. Multilateral Attention to Workers, to the Improvement of Living and Working Environments

The development of the economy, the efficiency of social production and the continued growth of labor productivity are preconditions for maintaining and increasing the quality of current living standards and the further strengthening of living and social certainties. The joint responsibility of unions /for the intensification of multilateral concern for workers/ requires from union organs and organizations primarily the following:

--In close cooperation and in agreement with union organs and state and economic agencies, the strengthening and full development of the planning of the social development of enterprise collectives by means of five-year and annual plans for personnel, individual, and social development and the integration of their implementation into collective agreements. All resources for the implementation of the tasks of enterprise social policy are to be utilized efficiently, including the cultural and social needs fund and the voluntary project "Unionists for their factory and the republic";

--/An increase in the role of social control in the creation and preservation of the working environment/, especially in terms of safety and health on the job. A three-level monitoring of work safety is to be consistently implemented, there is to be an expansion of collective education and the organization of safe work according to the example of A. D. Basov, and a public inspection of work safety is to be organized on a yearly basis. Systematic attention is to be devoted to the outfitting of workers with quality, work-related, personal protection equipment. The production of these resources in sufficient numbers and quality is required, as is an introduction of order into their documentation and economical utilization;

--In addition, /health care services must be of increased quality/, preventive care is to be emphasized, efforts made to construct and to modernize factory health care and rehabilitation equipment, to which end there is to be an effective merging of factory and national committee resources. An attempt is to be made to influence the development of labor disabilities, to take steps to place citizens with altered work capabilities in an appropriate occupation, and to extend the work activity of pensioners in accordance with national economic needs. In close cooperation with health care organs, there is to be a systematic influencing of the stabilization of factory physicians, diagnostic service physicians, and a reduction in waiting periods for examinations;

--/Increased attention is to be devoted to sanatorium care/, and class and merit viewpoints are to be applied to the social composition of participants from the ranks of workers, from high-risk work sites in industry and from agriculture. The preventive function of sanatorium treatments is to be increased. The rights of union organs in the area of health insurance are to be implemented, the political and professional sophistication of functionaries is to be systematically increased and the education of workers intensified regarding the responsible management of medical insurance resources;

--The exertion of active influence on the further /development of factory catering/, above all in production branches and for workers of the second and third shifts. In cooperation with economic organs, the rational development of factory catering is to be directed in accordance with established standards. Support is to be provided for the utilization of all under-utilized capacity, to mergers for the production and distribution of entrees and to the utilization of restaurant catering equipment according to the principles of factory catering;

--The further expansion of numbers and capacities of operators of /ROH pioneer camps/ affiliated with enterprises and factories, and the utilization to a greater extent of enterprise recreational equipment and rented facilities for these purposes. Full support is to be provided to the development of schools in nature, educational influences are to be intensified on children in ROH pioneer camps as well as during recreational stays within the framework of family union-sponsored recreation;

--In the area of ROH recreational care, it is necessary to proceed conscientiously and economically, to utilize all facilities fully, to merge forces purposefully, along with financial resources, for the construction and maintenance of recreational facilities. In the selection of participants in enterprise and selective recreational opportunities, there is to be an intensification of considerations of merit, social involvement and of preferences for employees, especially workers from multishift operations, from territories with difficult living conditions and from families with children. There is to be the consistent application in enterprise recreation of the new principles of the CSR Government and the Central Trade Union Councils of 1981 in order to foster its planned and efficient development;

--Efficient participation in /fulfillment of the election programs of the National Front/, the concentration, by means of volunteer brigade work, on the improvement of living conditions and on the resolution of long-standing shortcomings. There is to be an increase in factory and enterprise participation in the construction and operation of preschool facilities for children;

--The more efficient expansion of /cooperation with appropriate national committees/, the more emphatic and basic resolution of all issues related to worker living conditions, the increasing of the quality of citizen services, the supplying, health care for and transportation of workers;

--In conjunction with the economic leadership, the devotion of regular attention in basic organizations to issues of legal education, to the public exposure of the antisocial dealings of individuals in violation of laws, of labor and technological discipline, as well as in an irresponsible approach to socialist property;

--/A permanent increase in the quality of the work of arbitration commissions/, concern for the political and professional growth of their members, and the gradual orientation of their activity to prevention in the upholding of labor law regulations;

--A further increase in the quality of the /social control of higher union organs/ in the area of labor law and a demand for the consistent elimination of all known shortcomings.

III. Assistance Through Socialist Education in the Development of the Conscious Work and Social Activity of Members

The demanding tasks of the development of our socialist society require, in accordance with new needs, /the development of ideologically educational and cultural work/, the formation of socialist thought patterns and dealings among workers and the younger generation.

To carry out the above directive it is essential that union organs and organizations fulfill, in particular, the following tasks:

-The planned, conscientious, and more efficient than previously /development of mass political work within basic organizations/. A different approach must be applied to every social group, work collective and individual, and there is to be a flexible reaction to internal and foreign economic, political, social and other problems, the more emphatic development at work places of economic propaganda and agitation, and of everything that contributes to an increase in the efficiency, economical nature and quality of work, as well as to an improvement in working conditions;

--There is to be an increase in the sophistication and efficiency /of the socialist education of workers within work collectives/, especially in union shops, and an intensification of its planning and organization. Influence is to be exerted toward the mastery of a Marxist-Leninist world view and of socialist moral qualities of collectives and individuals. There is to be a tight joining of a patriotic and internationalist education with an education in class vigilance and an uncompromising attitude toward petty bourgeois and bourgeois ideology. The union press is to be utilized to a greater extent, and work with it is to be organized as with a source of information and experience;

--There is to be an intensification of /proletarian and socialist interintionalism/, a strengthening of friendship with the people of the Soviet
Union and of other countries. The expansion of signs of solidarity are to
be more efficiently linked with the daily political-educational work of the
basic ROH organizations, and in this concrete form our assistance to the
international workers movement is to be explained;

--There is to be more active organization within basic organizations and union groups /of scientific technical propaganda and economic education/, and a multilateral contribution to the raising of general educational and professional qualifications as well as the overall cultural sophistication of workers and other employees in accordance with the penetration of scientific and technical progress into production practice:

-- There is to be an increase in quality, and an expansion of the /culturally educational activity/ of basic organizations, of the cultural facilities of

the ROH and of union libraries. The avocational artistic and technical creativity of workers and youth is to be developed. There is to be support for an expansion of modern traditions, the founding of youth clubs, and the organization of active worker participation in the purposeful utilization of free time;

--/The assurance of training and advanced training for ROH functionaries/ is to proceed with greater responsibility and an increased sense of perspective. Young functionaries are to be selected more conscientiously for long-term study at the Antonin Zapotocky Central ROH School. There is to be an improvement in the use of centers and departments of union education, and the assurance of quality preparation for lecturers and propagandists for all forms of politicoeconomical education of members and the schooling of functionaries;

--One of the critical tasks to be considered is to be an increase in the influence of work collectives, socialist work brigades and leading workers on the /education of young workers, trainees, apprentices/ and, in cooperation with the Union of Socialist Youth, the development of proven forms of work with youth--the reserves of socialist work brigades, the activities of patrons of working youth, the Red Carnation;

--Attention is to be devoted to the personnel, material and organizational /assurance of the theoretical and practical training of apprentices/ as well as their out-of-school activities, and influence is to be exerted to improve the conditions in secondary training centers;

--In connection with the further development of the Czechoslovak culturation and educational system, active assistance is to be provided in the unified educational efforts of schools and families, /cooperation is to be expended between factories, socialist work brigades and schools/, Pioneer groups and shops, and stations are to be established of young technicians and natural scientists;

--Workers and youth are to be convinced to take part in year-round /recreational exercise/. Varied forms of physical exercise, sporting self-defense and touring activities are to be organized in factories, enterprises and recreational facilities. The requisite personnel and material conditions are to be created to this end.

IV. Politico-organizational Work in Basic Organizations and Union Organs

The demanding tasks facing the ROH after the 16th CPCZ Congress necessarily require /an improvement in the sophistication of organizational work/, a strengthening of union unity, an increase in union capacity for action, an improvement in the forms and techniques of work, the consistent application of the principles of democratic centralism and internal union democracy.

This presupposes a concentration of attention on the work of basic organizations, the level of internal union life and an increase in member involvement in the activities of union organizations.

In the upcoming period, the focus is to be on the following tasks:

- --An increase in /the efficiency and quality of the work of the basic ROH organizations/, the application during discussions of factory ROH committees of greater conscientiousness, specificity and awareness of the plan and operative reaction to material problems. Greater use should be made of internal analyses and the findings of individual union shops and work sites;
- --A further /increase in the quality of the activity of union shops/, and attention to the consistent application of the Central Trade Union Council document "Concerning the Position and Role of Union Shops and the Shop Steward." The role and mission of member meetings and of meetings of union shops within the basic organizations of ROH are to be increased;
- --/An ever-wider circle of functionaries and members is to be involved/ in union work, the experiences of the best and most decorated workers as well as those of innovators and improvers are to be utilized, and in their activities they are to depend on the collective wisdom of the workers and to react sensitively to their suggestions and comments;
- --In all ROH organs and basic organizations there is to be some serious thinking and, on the basis of findings and analyses, /concrete resolutions are to be adopted/, or other measures, and attention paid to the more thorough conduct of the monitoring of their fulfillment, the main element of technique is to be applied, thereby achieving a higher level of implementational activity;
- --/There is to be systematic work with factory committee chairmen/, and their political and professional sophistication is to be increased. Assistance is to be provided on a differentiated basis to basic ROH organizations, and the quality of work is to be increased conscientiously in those areas where there is the lowest level of implementational activity. The results which have been achieved in individual areas of union work are to be further generalized;
- --/The sophistication of the work of kraj and okres union councils/ is to be improved, and accountability increased for the unification and coordination of the activities of all union organs and basic ROH organizations, along with the multilateral development of the appropriate territorial units. Kraj and okres trade union committees are to be oriented toward the resolution of specific problems with branch national committee divisions;
- --/The style and work techniques of Czech trade union committees/ are to be improved, and the sophistication and specificity increased of the joint measures and directives adopted along with ministries. The specific role and position of trade unions is to be respected, their evaluative and analytical activity intensified, and the quality increased of the conceptualization, conscientiousness, plan awareness and critical attitude in the work of organs. Branch issues are to be judged more thoroughly, and the attention and efforts of all union organs concentrated on their resolution. Information concerning a situation is to be obtained more rapidly and

problems and shortcomings which have arisen are to be resolved more decisively. A more active approach is to be taken to the assurance of critical tasks in territorially managed enterprises and factories, and there is to be a systematic increase in the close cooperation and joint activity with the appropriate branch divisions of national committees;

-The efficiency and rigorousness of the /administrative and monitoring activities of the Czech Union Council/ on union and all-union organs is to be increased, and a common approach determined for the resolution of critical tasks. Attention is to be paid to a thorough implementation of their own resolutions and the resolution of the Central Trade Union Council, and a generalization of experiences carried out;

--/Cooperation is to be continued with the CSR Government/, especially regarding the establishment of joint approaches to the resolution of critical intentions and objectives in carrying out the economic and social policy of the CPCZ in individual years. Cooperation is to be continued with the Union of Socialist Youth, with the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society, with the central committee of the Czech Women's Union, and /with other National Front organizations/ as part of a unification of joint efforts to increase the work and social involvement of workers;

--The political and professional sophistication of union organ members is to be raised, a system of personnel reserves is to be established, a rigorous attitude is to be taken to the evaluation of the work of union functionaries, and all forms of moral evaluation are to be employed for long-time and esteemed ROH functionaries. In the selection, preparation and placement of union functionaries, the focus is to be on a conscientious and systematic /application of Leninist principles of personnel work/;

--/Financial resources are to be expended effectively/ for the assurance of union activity, there is to be a systematic and plan-oriented increase in the assistance to basic organizations in the area of union management. In the course of a given functional period, there is to be at least one inspection of the management of every ROH basic organization by the appropriate okres union council. /The administrative sophistication of auditing commissions/ is to be increased by supervisory union organs, and their work oriented toward the consistent control of financial asset management and the administration of property. Control is to be considered part of the administrative process, with findings discussed within organs and utilized in future work.

/The Czech ROH Congress commits all union organs and organizations, functionaries and ROH members in the CSR to active participation in the assurance of the tasks established for the upcoming years, to a further increase in the quality of union activity, and to a contribution, through more efficient and purposeful work, to the development of our socialist society.

/The Czech ROH Congress charges the Czech Trade Union Council with:

- --/Utilizing these suggestions for discussion;
- --/The plan-oriented administration and conscientious organization of the fulfillment of the approved resolution;
- --/The unification of the approach of union organs in the CSR to the implementation and formulation of the tasks which will stem from the discussions at the 10th All-Union Congress./

The Czech ROH Congress addresses all ROH members in the CSR with an exhortation to fulfill honestly the socialist commitments which they make in connection with the 10th All-Union Congress, thereby contributing to the future development of socialism and to an increase in the quality and effectiveness of union work, and to an increase in the role of the ROH in the implementation of the directives and tasks outlined by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

9276

CSO: 2400/176

SED LEADERS DISAGREEING OVER AID TO POLAND, RELATIONS WITH WEST

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 11, 5 Mar 82 p 26

[Unattributed article: "Falling Into the Holes--Erich Honecker Finds Himself Under Pressure in the SED: No Changes for the Time Being With Regard to Minimum Currency Exchange"]

[Text] Egon Franke went on the offensive. As the minister for inner-German relations put it in an interview with the NEUE OSNABRUECKER ZEITUNG, if the GDR did not revise the minimum currency exchange by 30 June, it would "reach the end of its rope: then the GDR would have to see to it that it could get along with fewer non-interest bearing credits."

Franke's threat that Bonn would put a ceiling on the no-interest overdraft credit in inner-German trade (Swing) does not come out of the blue. For a few months it appeared that Helmut Schmidt's and Erich Honecker's Werhellin Lake agreement to trade a Swing extension for new minimum currency exchange rules was going to work. The SED had announced already last January that it would come up with a proposal no later than March which should be acceptable to Bonn.

But lately evidence is mounting that the GDR can no longer honor Honecker's promise to either lower or totally eliminate the October 1980 raise in entrance fees to the East Republic, at least for pensioners and children.

The reasons for this change of heart do not lie in Bonn, but farther east: events in Poland have triggered stormy debates within the SED leadership about party policy and have made some inroads on Erich Honecker's previously unassailable position.

At present the Politburo agrees on only two points: the SFD must spare no effort to separate Bonn from the Western counterarming front. At the same time the GDR's stability must be secured under all circumstances. But there is a great divergence of opinions among the leading comrades on ways and means of attaining these goals.

The principal trigger for this controversy was Leonid Brezhnev's promise to General Mojciech Jaruzelski that Moscow would increase its economic aid to Poland beyond previous levels. The SED functionaries fear that this promise would have to be primarily kept by the GDR.

In this context, the comrades are circulating a standard East German joke: China and the USSR resume friendly relations. The Chinese list three conditions: Moscow must provide annually 200,000 agricultural machines, 300,000 bicycles and 500,000 toms of rice. Breshnev agrees to the first two conditions, but declines the third: "That's impossible; the CDR has no rice."

Even now the East Germans are delivering goods to Poland which they urgently require for their own needs. Thus for instance some foodstuffs are withdrawn from availability to the CDR population, with the result that some cities are even suffering a shortage of potatoes.

Aid to Poland is especially difficult for the GDR inasmuc' as its own agriculture is in considerable difficulty because of years of faulty planning, such as a strict separation of animal and plant production. Nor is industrial development nearly as rosy as the SED leadership officially proclaims. The real data and facts are shown only in top secret analyses which are not even accessible to all members of the Politburo.

The GDR citizens are so far reacting to the increasing daily food shortages with anger against the Poles, whom they blame for everything. But the agents of Minister for State Security Erich Mielke find growing dissatisfaction with the entire policy. In summary, the GDR economic system is after all the same as in neighboring Poland.

Mielke has already warned: "If the Western services should get into this also, we would be faced with grust internal political changes." And Berlin SED chief Konrad Naumann, noterious for his drastic pronouncements, was angered about "rats which one might stroke once in a while but which must be chased back into their holes."

Fearing internal instability, part of the Polithuro, including besides Mielke and Naumann especially Defense Minister Beinz Hoffmann, is pleading for exchanging Honecker's lax consumer socialism for a more hardnosed policy, especially toward the West.

They are supported by SED functionaries who have for a long time blamed Honecker's "wrong handling of economic and social programs" and the influence of West marks and Meatern credits for the had mood in the country. This group demands also that the GDR not permit itself to be blackmailed by Bonn into trading the Swing for a lovering of the minimum currency exchange.

The SED chief finds support only among a number of district chiefs of his Unity Party. Their counter argument is that tightening the reins does not ease the hurden; it provokes the opposite effect.

Remistance to Homecker's plan to keep his promise regarding the minimum currency exchange in the spring is also found among the foreign policy experts in the SED leadership. Party Secretary for International Belations Hermann Axen declared that in his opinion Bonn would eventually fall in line with American policy—"perhaps not on the natural gas pipeline business, but on arms policy." Even changes in the minimum currency exchange would not change that, he said. Amen suggested that the GDR should hide its time until the SPD party congress in April and June's NATO summit in Bonn.

Finally even Erich Honecker agreed with Axen's recommendation. He informed Bonn that nothing would happen in March.

Whether or not Honecker will have his way later on also depends on what Leonid Brezhnev does in Moscow during the next few months.

9273

CSO: 2300/205

#### FRG PRESS PUBLISHES TEXT OF GDR BORDER TROOP FIRING ORDERS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 1 Mar 82 p 6

[Partial text of 'Service Regulation 018/0/008--Deployment of Border Troops to Secure the State Border--Use of Firearms': "'...directed fire is to be opened'--Text of Secret Firing Order for GDR Border Troops"]

[Text] The content of the firing order has been known since the middle 1970's from statements made by defected NVA non-commissioned officers. Last weekend the BERLINER MORGENPOST published the full text of "Service Regulation 018/0/008-Deployment of Border Troops to Secure the State Border-Use of Firearms." Verbal instructions to border troops on guard duty are much more stringent. According to Service Regulation 30/10, directed fire is to be opened on any fugitive in close proximity to the border fortifications. Challenge or warning shots are permitted only if a minimum of 50 meters separates him from the border. DIE WELT herewith reprints verbatim excerpts from the BERLINER MORGENPOST.

210.

- 1. The use of firearms is the extreme measure of employing force against an individual. Firearms hay be used only if physical force with use of auxiliary resources is unsuccessful or cannot reasonably be expected to succeed.
- 2. Firearms may be used only by order of a superior or upon the personal initiative of border troops.
- a. to prevent the imminent implementation or continuation of an action which under the circumstances appears to be
- a crime against the sovereignty of the GDR, peace, humanity or human rights;
- a crime against the GDR, against general security or state laws;
- a crime against an individual:
- any other crime which is being committed or about to be committed involving the use of firearms or explosives;

- b. to prevent the escape or to recapture persons
- who are suspected of a crime or who had been arrested for committing a crime;
- who are suspected of having committed other punishable offenses or who had been sentenced to a jail term; when it is apparent that firearms or explosives are involved or that escape is in some other way being initiated through force or violence against individuals charged with arrest, guarding or supervision; or that a mass escape is in progress;
- c. against persons who are trying to liberate by force anyone who had been arrested for committing a punishable offense or had been sentenced to a jail term, or who is assisting in such an endeavor;
- d. when all other means have been exhausted for successfully preventing an immediately impending or actual attack upon military installations or other state, societal or economic facilities or upon oneself and other persons (in accordance with paragraphs 17-19 of the criminal code);
- e. to break up armed resistance;
- f. to arrest individuals
- if armed persons refuse to comply with the order to drop their weapons or are trying to resist arrest by threatening to use such weapons or actually doing so;
- if individuals ignore the challenge or orders by border guards and are apparently trying to violate the GDR state border and if all other means of arrest or prevention of escape have been exhausted;
- if individuals in vehicles ignore official stop signs and have broken through, removed or circumvented barriers and are undoubtedly attempting to break through the state border.

211.

The use of firearms against members of the border troops and the National People's Army is permissible as an extreme measure if in a frank breach of discipline, or resistance by subordinates all measures to reestablish military discipline and order have remained unsuccessful and arrest is not feasible.

212.

The use of firearms must always be preceded by the command "Stop! Border Guard! Hands up!" Should this challenge be ignored, a warning shot is to be fired. Should this be ignored also, directed fire is to be opened.

213.

Firearms will be discharged with directed fire without prior challenge and warning shots

- a. if this is necessary for defense against a sudden violent attack and to eliminate armed resistance;
- b. if there is no other way of preventing or deterring an actual attack upon military installations or other state, societal or economic facilities or against oneself or other persons.

214.

In using firearms, the life of target individuals is to be preserved if possible. Wounded individuals should be given first aid under observance of appropriate security measures. The rendering of first aid is subordinate to the performance of urgent and non-delayable tasks.

215.

Firearms will not be used

- a. if the life and health of bystanders is thereby endangered (in urban areas, thronged streets, full restaurants, public transport, etc.);
- b. if the persons involved appear to be juveniles (up to age 14):
- c. if circumstances which originally made the use of firearms justifiable do no longer apply;
- d. if the persons to be arrested are members of occupation forces stationed in the FRG or in West Berlin or their military missions;
- e. if it involves members of diplomatic missions;
- f. if aircraft of foreign nationality violate GDR airspace;
- g. for the purpose of giving a signal (except "Help!").

216.

- 1. Any use of firearms must immediately be reported to a superior and, if persons were wounded or killed, it must be treated as a special incident.
- 2. Fatally injured individuals must be taken to a terrain sector which is outside the adversary's field of vision. The site of the incident must be marked and secured. In other cases the bodies must not be moved. Further action must await direction by the military prosecutor.

217.

If the firearm was used against border violators, the territory of the neighboring state or West Berlin must not be fired upon.

. 14.

in case of deployment for the defense of the GDR, the use of firearms is decreed by the minister for national defense.

1.73

(30: 2300/202

#### 'FALSIFICATIONS' BY FOREIGN HISTORIANS CONDEMNED

Bucharest ANALF DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 5, Sep-Oct 81 pp 76-100

Article by Ion Ardeleams and Mircea Musat: "Some Fundamental Problems of the History of the Nation and of the RCP"

/Text/ In the RCP's view, strikingly reflected in Nicolae Ceausescu's thought, historical studies play a major role in ideological activity and are regarded not only as means to knowledge of man's past but beyond that and particularly as a powerful instrument of political education and of formation and development of the patriotic and revolutionary self-awareness of the masses and especially of youth.

In pointing this out Nicolae Ceausescu said that by studying "the glorious history of the Romanian people, the struggles and sacrifices of our ancestors, and their efforts to perfect material and intellectual creation we learn to appreciate and love the advances of the present more deeply and to make every effort to develop them and to create the new history of Romania, the history of socialism and communism."

The theoretical and practical effort the RCP is making in the broad program on behalf of the nation's present and future includes, in a place of honor, the major contribution made by its secretary general, Nicolae Ceausescu, to the development of Romanian historical science. A reader of national history, the president of Romania has also distinguished himself as a masterly interpreter of its fundamental values. It can be said that there is no critical point in Romania's national history upon which the party secretary general has not expressed his realistic, considered and authentic opinion.

Nicolae Ceausescu's speech on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the RCP confronts the historians and all teachers of the social disciplines with new and quite different considerations.

The speech is a program document of cutstanding theoretical and methodological value for the study and teaching of history and for the other social sciences.

In the spirit of the historical materialist conception, the speech analyzes some of the most important periods in Romanian history, from the most ancient times to contemporary history. A first analysis of the speech leads to some conclusions of inestimable value to the historical front:

- It notes the processes of anthropogenesis and social continuity on Romanian soil, and consequently the process of ethnogenesis here in the Carpatho-Damubian-Black Sea area.
- It points out the unscientific, erroneous and politically tendentious nature of the historical works and theories that try to contest those facts and to establish the idea of other peoples' historical primacy here or that of a historical historical historical primacy here or that of a historical historic
- It brings out the process of the Romanian people's historical development, accordingly, and especially in the modern period, pointing cut the part played by a number of revolutionary changes such as the revolutions in 1821 and 1848, the unification in 1859, the independence in 1877 and the unification in 1918 in the advancement of Romania's creative potentials and in its development as a factor for civilization and progress in this part of Europe.
- It indicates the continuity of the revolutionary processes on Romanian soil and the dialectical relationship in time between the revolutionary movements of the peasants, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national emancipation, and socialist construction, drawing the final conclusion that there have always been progressive social and political forces in Romanian society that have known how to understand the demands of historical progress, to combat the backward, conservative social forces, to promote the new, and to secure continuous social progress.
- It points out the historic role of the revolutionary party of the working class, its relations with other political forces, and the ways in which it provides for the unity of action of the entire people and their organization and management in socialist revolution and construction by asserting itself as a representative of the political, economic, social and national interests of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia and all workers regardless of nationality.
- It notes the quite exceptional historical significance of the entry of the working class upon the historical scene and the particular ways in which the Romanian working class organized its ranks and emerged as a leader of the nonproletarian masses in the revolutionary struggle for socialism.
- It reveals the role of advanced i leas in historical development and in the revolutionary struggle, and accordingly the particular role of the theory of scientific socialism and the historical and dialectical-materialist conception, which enlighten social action as well as the socialist revolution and construction.
- It treats the relationship between national and world history in the light of the historical-materialist conception, bringing out the Romanian people's important contribution to world civilization and the influence of other peoples.
- It presents a telling picture of the combination of patriotism with internationalism in the struggle of the revolutionary forces in Romania, bringing out patriotism as well as solidarity with the revolutionary forces and peoples of other countries as traits of the Romanian people's character.
- It presents a detailed picture of the process of socialist construction and the Romanian people's extensive accomplishments since the 1944 revolution.

- It sets an example of highly principled historical research, presenting the political errors and historic oversights of various periods as well as the favorable processes and historical development and drawing conclusions to enable contemporaries to avoid such errors and oversights.
- It is an example to be emulated of scientific militance, intolerance of historical distortions, and incisive criticism of the realities of capitalism and imperialism, noting the inner motives and aims leading to abolition of outmoded social relations and to man's objective evolution toward a new society and new international relations.

In making all these points we realize that other conclusions also follow from study of the speech. Therefore we consider it necessary to reappraise our activity, teaching program and historical research according to the speech and to direct our historical efforts according to the main indications presented in it and other party documents.

In stressing the importance and objectives of history as a social science Nicolae Ceausescu said, "History is a revolutionary science by its nature. Therefore the histories must also militate from revolutionary positions and give a firm, scientific and dialectical-materialist answer reply to the attempts of some foreign historians who are trying (in vain and perhaps some in their ignorance, although I do not want to insult them) to prove that there was a vacuum in these regions" (2). Nicolae Ceausescu also said, "We must realize that there are different views on historical problems, confrontations of ideas, and even attempts to distort the historical truth. Therefore it is the Romanian historians' task to actively help to clarify those problems on a scientific basis, while giving a firm answer to any attempts to falsify history and distort reality" (3).

In this connection Nicolae Ceausescu directed the Romanian historians to approach historical problems from positions of dialectical materialism and in view of the fact that from the earliest times the history of mankind is closely bound up with the living and working conditions and the gradual development of the productive forces. The facts indicate that people have formed smaller or larger communities in the course of working and improving the production means, to cooperate and to consider what is to be done to withstand all disasters and to secure a civilized life.

Since some isolated historical facts and considerations are sometimes overemphasized in the course of writing and teaching history, the RCP Program and Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works advise workers in the field of history to proceed from the general conditions in which a given people formed and developed, and from the relations of cooperation among peoples and the close interdependence of their civilizations. In teaching history we must also begin with the historical role of the masses, the peasants, the artisans, and later the working class, bringing out their role in material production, in cultural creation and in the struggle to defend the ancestral land.

Our explanation of the historical process of the Romanian people's development should be based on the same considerations, and it is in this light that we must emphasize the antiquity of the material and intellectual culture on Romanian soil: the most important aspects of Thraco-Geto-Dacian history, the intensive socioeconomic development of the Dacian state in the time of Burebista and Decebal, the extensive contacts and mutual influence between the Geto-Dacian civilization and the Greek, Persian and Roman civilizations, etc.

The study of history demonstrates the basic factors that have determined social evolution in this area, which factors have always included uninterrupted continuity of life and then of state organization, defense of freedom and independence, opposition to exploitation and oppression, and the constant effort to develop the productive forces and to secure material and cultural progress.

The decisive role of the masses as true creators of history, the progressive stand taken for centuries by the peasantry and by the working class in the modern and present periods, the progressive stand of the patriotic intelligentsia, and the RCP's historic role in organizing and managing the revolutionary struggle and in building the new socialist order all emerge strikingly against this background.

In presenting these processes the historians must also emphasize the historical facts that favored contacts and mutual influence among the populations of these regions, a process that was basic to the formation of the Romanian nation, the Balkan peoples and other neighboring peoples. We must point out what the neighbor peoples have accomplished in common and the fact that their civilization is the result of close cooperation among them.

Particular importance is to be attached to firm, well-substantiated opposition, on a broad basis of scientific information, to any attempts to distort or falsify the historical processes, the periods or the roles of any outstanding personalities in the Romanian people's history, as well as any facts or phenomena of universal history. It must be demonstrated that foreign domination and impairment or loss of sovereignty and independence seriously affect peoples' socioeconomic development, that elimination of foreign domination is a historical necessity, and that no attempts by foreign powers can stem the course of every people's historical development toward freedom and independence. In this connection a firm reply must be made to any attempts to present the foreign, imperialist, colonialist and expansionist domination of the great powers as progressive manifestations in aid of the oppressed peoples' development. The peoples' right to self-determination and a free and independent life must be emphasized.

It must be demonstrated by historical documents that the formation of the nations and national states played a historically important part in mankind's general socioeconomic progress, and that the nation and national state are expected to play a highly important part from now or in society and in the struggle for social progress. We must resolutely expose one imperialist policy of force and dictation and advocate a policy of widespread economic and cultural-scientific collaboration and of equality and respect among all peoples. That is the only way history will serve the true aims of science as well as our socialist aspirations and the usvelopmental policy of Romania and the Romanian people.

In the light of these principles and policies, the study and teaching of history have taken on new qualitative dimensions indicated by the preparation and publication of works, including some school and university textbooks, on fundamental aspects and events in order to improve instruction in this discipline.

In evaluating the critical part played by education in the formation of the young generation's consciousness, Nicolae Ceausescu said that "The study of history is to become an essential factor in Romanian schools for patriotic indoctrination of the young generations and for developing the sense of responsibility for the destiny of socialist Romania and all youths' firm resolve to dedicate all their energy,

enthusiasm, working capacity and even their lives if necessary to the prosperity and defense of the nation and to the preservation of freedom, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the people's revolutionary socialist gains\* (4).

### 1. The Romanian People's Historical Roots

The history of the Romanians is the history of a stable people, formed in their ancient Dacian homeland, who followed their own course of action, expression and sedentary material and cultural civilization and conceived original and lasting values long since included in the heritage of world culture. In reference to this fact the scholar Nicolae Iorga said, "They are a people whose ancestors go back 4,000 years. That is our pride and that is our power" (5).

The archeological discoveries throughout Romania prove man's existence on Romanian soil hundreds of thousands of years before our era, and it is at that point that Romanian history actually begins.

The first written notice of the inhabitants of the Carpatho-Damubian-Hlack Sea area dates back about 2,500 years. The Getae or Daci are mentioned, who were one and the same people belonging to the great family of Thracians.

The Thraco-Geto-Dacian civilization developed in particular forms with uniform traits more and more intensively in Central and Southeast Burope, participating in the exchange of material and cultural values of antiquity. This is evidenced by ceramics of the Cucuteni type, neolithic art, the treasure recently discoved at Hinova and other evidence of those periods. "The bravest and most just of the Thracians," as Herodotus called the Geto-Dacians, made great political, economic and cultural progress in the first century B.C., when Burebista began to unite Dacia. Around the 70's B.C. the centralized and indepent Dacian state exercised sovereignty within relatively stable borders, to the northwest as far as the Slovakian Mountains and the Middle Danube, to the south as far as the Haemus Mountains, and to the southwest down to the northwestern shore of the Black Sea. Toward the middle of the first century B.C. the Dacian state also included all the towns of the Greek colony from Olbia to Apollonia, founded long before in the Dacian regions on the western shore of the Black Sea. Intensive agricultural, artisan, commercial, municipal and cultural activity in the interior provided the necessary means for exchanges with the outside world.

The political unification accomplished by Burebista, whom his contemporaries rightly called "the foremost and greatest of the kings in Thrace and master of all regions beyond and this side of the Danube" (6), was accompanied by a considerable consolidation of the power of the Dacian state in the political situation in the second half of the first century B.C., when a Roman invasion was becoming more threatening. By means of a wise policy Burebista succeeded in developing Dacia further and making it one of the major political and military powers of ancient times.

Burebista stands in the history of Romania and its people as one of their most reknowned and illustrious personalities. He was ahead of his time, and he inscribed his name among the great figures of antiquity.

The period of Burebista prepared the way for the period of Decebal, the hero-king of the Dacians, who was to confront one of the greatest powers of ancient times, the Roman Empire. Thus the first century A.D. marks the beginning of our ancestors' struggles for independence and in defense of a definite territory.

A good military leader, Decebal also distinguished himself as a skillful diplomat and wise politician. Thanks to his relations with the Roman Empire, the stipends that Rome paid him according to the peace treaty concluded with Domitian in 89 A.D., the alliances the great king established with the peoples in the regions bordering on Dacia, and the organization of an extensive zone of resistance on the Damube and in the Carpathians, the wars the empire was preparing against Dacia were considered the severest military test of the Romans. Dion Cassius said Trajan "was appalled at the thought of the sums of money the Romans had to pay every year" (7). In referring to the Dacians' courage in the wars with the Romans in 101-102 and 105-106, Vasile Parvan said that "The Dacian people's defense of their land was a hymn of love such as the peoples of their threatened country had rarely raised" (8).

In describing the Geto-Dacians' struggles to defend themselves against Roman expansion the Soviet historian N. S. Dershavin pointed out that "The Dacians who occupied the territory of Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia and Bessarabia as far as the Black Sea and the Dniester put up a very stubborn resistance to the Roman conquerers for whole decades..." (9). In his turn the Hungarian scholar Andras Hussti wrote in 1791 [sic] about the characteristics of our ancestors: "Dacians were the oldest inhabitants of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia, being very brave and unsurpassed in battle... the word Geta means a javelin or lance, and so Getae could only mean brave people, spearmen and lancers. Some scholars believe the name Dakus means a warrior, that is, brave" (10). A large, oval burial mound was recently discoved at Cucutemi, with stone walls, an entrance 3.5 meters high on the southwest side, and a maximum diameter of 10 meters. The funeral rite of cremation and the furnishings of the tomb indicate that it belonged to some of the top Geto-Dacian aristocracy. The tomb is dated in the 4th-3rd centuries B.C.

After the Roman conquest of a part of Dacia, which, Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu concluded, "like any conquest had tragic consequences for the Dacian people, economic, social and cultural activity in those regions made new and instensive progress because of the close involvement of the two civilizations that had coexisted for a long period" (11).

The fact to be stressed is that Roman rule over a part of Dacia could not brook up the unity of the Dacian people, as some historians have maintained and still say. Simion Mehedinti was quite right in stading that "A people as numerous as the Dacians, spread over such a large geographic area protected by such a varied relief (both geographically and in vegetation), could not be annihilated."

Of course there were still constant material, cultural and political ties both within the Roman province and between the free Dacians and those in the Roman province, and their unity of language, beliefs and customs developed in that way. The sense of unity, based on a civilization and a culture created over several millennia of sedentary life, was consolidated under the new political-administrative organization.

The start of the Roman Empire's political and military decline (to which the Dacian people contributed with their repeated uprisings and the presence of some of them in the empire's administration), due to the intense internal contradictions that were tearing it and the blows struck by the subjugated peoples who were rising to fight for their liberation from its rule and by the migratory populations, compelled the Roman administration and legions to leave Dacia beginning in 271 A.D. while the native population remained in its country, on its ancestral soil.

Concerning the developmental stage of Geto-Dacian society, some works published abroad erroneously maintain that the Daco-Getae were in an inferior stage of development and that any civilization they had was a borrowed one. This theory is used as an argument in support of another and equally erroneous theory to the effect that the Geto-Dacian people were exterminated by the Roman army.

Recently some works on Romanian history published abroad have maintained that the Doci were a different people than the Getae, and that the Romanized Daci form the Romanians while the Romanized but heavily Slavicised Getae formed the Moldavians as a separate people. Other historians go so far in distorting the historical truth as to claim that the Romanian people were formed south of the Danube, whence they penetrated the Carpatho-Danubian area and then Transylvania. For example, "Chronology of Universal History from the Prehistoric Period to 1977" by Csato-Jemnitz Gunszt-Markus (Didactic Publishing House: Budapest 1981) says literally: "The ancestors of the Romardians are the Thraco-Illy ian tribes who were Romanized in the period of Roman rule of the province of Illyria and later merged with the Slavic colonists and thus gave rise to the Romanian people (Vlach, Olah in Hungarian) in the 6th-17th centuries. From the 17th century on they expanded in the Balkan Peninsula between the Danube and the Carpathians and later toward Transylvania. These are false theories. Many convincing historical and archeological arguments bear out the identity of the Getae and Daci. The ancient sources point out that the Daci and the Cetae were the same people, called Getae in the Greek sources and Daci in the Roman and Dacian ones. Horeover the fact became axiomatic that the Romanian people were formed in the Carpatho-Damubian-Black Sea area, in ancient Dacia.

As to the terms "people" and "population," sometimes arbitrarily used, the concepts must be defined in the historical-materialist sense: "People" is used for stable communities, organized from the social-political, sociaeconomic and institutional standpoints, and "population" for migratory, hence unstable or less stable communities. In this case we should use the term "people" for Geto-Daci and "population" for migrants. Our Geto-Incian ancestors can already be considered a people in the time of the Geto-Daci because they were sedentary within a definite area and had their own political organization, a uniform language, and a developed economic and cultural activity.

When we speak of proving the existence of the people as a form of historical community on Romanian soil we are actually making the point that the Dacian people appeared as such before Roman rule. This form of community has an uninterrupted continuity, having survived the difficult conditions of Roman rule and many subsequent confrontations with the migrant populations. The Romanians are the continuers of the Daco-Getic people, who underwent an evolution to be sure through the involvement of their civilization with the Roman civilization and also encountered other outside influences. As it says in the RCP Program, this involvement of the two civilizations brought about a new socioeconomic development of these regions that "affected the whole subsequent historical evolution of society in this geographic area" (12).

# 2. Roman Withdrawal South of the Danube and Romanian Continuity

The continuity of the Romanian people was maintained and developed without interruption in the 3rd-9th centuries, corresponding to the period of withdrawal of Roman authority and the passage of the main migrant populations over Romanian territory, and it led to the formation of the feudal Romanian states throughout the area of ancient Dacia. This reveals the absurdity of some foreign historians' theories to the effect that Aurelian's withdrawal left a vacuum in Dacia that was filled by such nigrant

populations as Slave, Bulgars, Hungarians etc. while the Romanians did not return to ancient Dacia until the 12th-13th centuries. In reference to these pseudoscientific theories, our party secretary general said at the Congress on Education and Instruction that "The vacuum was not in those regions but possibly in the consciousness of some historians, who keep trying as they have in the past to prejudice and divide workers of different nationalities in their nations' and peoples' foreign interests and on behalf of the imperialist policy of domination."

Some foreign historians came to the correct conclusions through careful and objective study of Romanian history. The American historian John Matley said on this subject that "The abandonment of Dacia and its subsequent population by a massive migration from south of the Damube are fantastic theories unconfirmed by historical sources and unacceptable even as hypotheses." The American author believes that had it not been for the expansionist claims "with a semblance of historical justification, it is unlikely that such a theory would ever have been invented." And the Hungarian historian Andras Bussti said, "The descendants of the Getae live and dwell today where their ancestors dwelt, and they speak the language their ancestors spoke long ago" (13).

Some distinctive features born of the historical measurables imposed by the migrant populations figure in the Romanian people's development, such as the evolution of the process primarily in rural areas, since the village was for a long time the source of our strength and our power to survive. As contrasted with the other Romanic peoples, who were formed within barbarian kingdoms, the Romanian people had particular forms of organization such as village communities, unions of communities, people's romanii [7], volevodates, principalities and duchies.

The migrant populations caused great destruction and devastation in their passage across the Romanian regions beginning in the 3rd century A.D. In reference to this Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the migrant populations "were usually the bearers of a less developed civilization, so that development of the productive forces was impeded for a certain period" (14). The migrant populations could not change the Romanian people's community of life, language and culture nor stop their historic unified progress toward higher forms of political and socioeconomic organization. It should be noted that the migratory populations that became sedentary under the cultural influence of the peoples with whom they came in contact adjusted to the latter's level of civilization and embraced Christianity, like the Bulgarians and Hungarians.

Note also that the Romanian people maintained constant contact with the Byzantine civilization after the Roman withdrawal.

The historical sources demonstrate the uninterrupted continuity of the Romanian people's material and cultural existence in their native land throughout this long period of great social-political upheavals.

First-hand accounts from various sources, some even written in different languages and having no connection with each other, ment only the Daco-Romanians' presence throughout the whole Carpatho-Danubian-h. area but also their feudal state organization. The great burial ground and mine rural and urban settlement in the northwestern part of Alba Iulia city recently discovered by archeologists provide information of great scientific importance about the hth-12th centuries, indicating the existence of a large Romanian population in large settlements that was economically and culturally developed and politically organized in voievodates. The fortified center at Gresti (Mures County) with mosts and earthworks proves the existence of a

powerful Romanian state unit in that part of Dacia, like the one at Udesti (Suceava County) and the citadel of wood and earth at Fundul Mortii (Botosani County).

An unpublished mention of Romanians in the 9th century A.D. occurs in "Oguzname," the oldest Turkish chronicle, from the 9th century A.D. It mentions the existence of a "Country of the Romanians" in the 9th century or more specifically about 839. And Hoise Oboneanti's "Armenian Geography" written between 855 and 902 mentions a "country called Balak" north of the Bulgars, namely Wallachia or Valahia.

King Bela's anonymous scribe, in his chronicle "Gesta Hungarorum," mentions the existence of three Romanian duchies (voievodates) at the end of the 9th century, the first in Crisana with its center in Bihor (Biharia) city under Menumorut's rule, the second in the Banat ruled by Glad and with one center in Cetatea Cuvin ("Castrum Keve") and another in Cetatea Crsova ("Castrum Crsicia"), and the third duchy or voievodate in Transylvania proper. The Romanian Gelu ("Gelou quidan Blacus") ruled there with his residence in Dabica city.

The chronicle "Gesta Hungarorum" mentions that Henunorut, stating his resolve to defend his independence and to preserve the integrity of his voievodate, replied with dignity to the emissaries of the Hungarian king, "Tell Arpad, Duke of Hungary and your master, that we owe him, as a friend to a friend, all that he needs since he is a foreigner and lacks much. But the land that he har asked of our good will we shall never give him... out of neither love nor fear... And do not trouble us with words like those he sent, that he is decended from the people of King Attila, who was called 'the scourge of God.' Even if the latter seized this land from my ancestor by force, now.. no one can tear it from my hands" (15).

On another level the statement in some Hungarian works is also false that the route of the Magyar tribes coming from Atelous passed through the Eastern Carpathians into Translyvania in 895, where they encountered a sparse population and that too of Slavic origin. The Hungarian journal HISTORIA (No 2, 1981), in Gyula Laszlo's article "Where Did the Avars Disappear te?," recently promoted the "theory of the double settlement" to the effect that Hungarian-speakers were living in the Carpathian region before the occupation in Arpad's time who merged with the newcomers, pointing out that regardless of who the inhabitants of Pannonia were (Slavs, in general), the conquering Magyar society "was much more developed and had its own agrarian culture with a pronounced society was much more developed and had its own agrarian culture with a pronounced social stratification. Only this advanced society could take over the "Roman heritage." No Pannonian-Slavic state existed, and on the ruins of the Avar state battles were fought between the eastern Franks, the Damubian Bulgar state (Tisa-Transylvania) and the principality of Oravia. Between those territories there was a "no man's land."
"The Hungarian language was spoken" in the Carpathian region in the 8th century.

In conclusion the author maintains that the Avar population coexisted with the Magyar one and contributed to the ethnogenesis of the Hungarian people.

The unscientific character of this now revived theory is obvious. The sources bear witness that the Magyar tribes' route to Pannonia crossed the Wooded Carpathians, and when they began to expand toward Transylvania the above-mentioned Romanian political units were coming there from the west and put up a stiff resistance to the Magyar invasion. The recent archeological studies pimpoint the citadels of Biharia, Satu Mare, Zalau, Cuvin, Crsova and Pescari. Two voicevodal citadels, centers of Gelu's voicevodate, have been discovered at Dobics and Cluj-Manastur, confirming in this case too the said chronicler's statement that Voicevod Gelu's residence was near the Somes River.

There were also other Romanian feudal state units in Transylvania proper that are not mentioned by Anonymus because they had not been reached by the expeditions of the Bungarian conquest at the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th (Tara Mirsel, Tara Fagarasului, Tara Almasului, Tara Hategului, Tara Maramuresului etc.).

The old chronicles mention a number of Romanian voievodates in the Romanian area east of the Carpathians such as those of the Birladans in the middle of Moldavia and the Cispulungans between the curve of the Carpathians and the Damube and Black Sea. To the south of the Damube the Romanians organized their state affairs in many Vlahias, such as Alga (Moesia), Mica (Aetolia), Mare (Thessaly) Tara Valahia (Epirus) etc., and because of their strong ties with the Romanians north of the Damube, they laid the foundations in the beginning of the second millennium for the Romanian-Bulgarian Empire under the Asanesti dynasty.

In that millennium a number of documents mention the existence of Romanian states south of the Damube named Vlahia, Vlahia Mare, Vlahia Mica, Vlahia de Sus etc. and headed by distinguished princes.

Concerning the social-political situation in the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area in this period, some Bulgarian historical works state that "The sovereignty of the first Bulgarian czar extended over the whole territory of Romania today." No certain evidence, written or archeological, attests any such sovereignty or even a hegemony. The ethnic composition and strength of the Romanian-Bulgarian czardom are illustrated by Pope Innocent III's correspondence and the coronation of lonita as "king of the Bulgarians and Vlahs" by the papal envoy in 1204. Theories have also been circulated about the second Romanian-Bulgarian czardom that err particularly in not recognizing the Romanian presence in that state. The Asanesti are regarded as Bulgarians and not Romanians and the state is regarded as strictly Bulgarian in character, whereas actually it was "the beginning of close cooperation between the Romanian and Bulgarian populations settled on the right bank of the Danube under the Bulgarian-Vlach kingdom of the Asanesti, headed sometimes by Romanians and sometimes by Bulgarians, which contributed to both peoples' development."

The objective historical process of building the centralised Romanian feudal state through development and undfication of a voievodates throughout the whole Romaidan territory was encumbered juth by the internal centrifugal trends due to the process of feurial fragmentation characteristic of all Burope at the time and by the constant external danger. Accordingly the troops of the Hungarian kings began to infiltrate Transylvania in the 10th century, after they became sedentary on the Pannonian Plain and despite a strong resistance on the part of the Romanians led by their voievods. They succeeded in mastering part of northwestern Romania (Transylvania) only toward the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th. Under those circumstances the administrative organization of Transylvania necessarily had a structure different from that of the rest of the feudal Hungarian state, and the native form of the volevotate, also common to the other Romandan lands, was retained for it. The Hungarian humanist Istvan Losonczy wrote on this subject that Transylvania, upon which Aungary bordered on the east, was sceetimes called Middle Dacia." In reference to the Hungarians' arrival in this area, he said that "The kings of Hungary ruled it through the voieveds of Transylvania. On the same subject, Nicolae lorga wrote that "If all the provinces ruled by the Hungarian crown, Transylvania was the only one that kept a volevod as its chief under the Hungarians" (16).

And so Hungary and Transylvania were different entities under the crown of Saint Stephen, each with its own physical and human structure, its own political organization and its own economic otientation. The Transylvanians ignored the geographic configuration of Hungary but kept up with the realities of Wallachia. One Hungarian author said, "The Szeklers think Hungary is just as mountainous as Ciucul and they know Seghedinul only by hearsay, but even the children who play in the dust of the roads know Bucharest, Braila and Sinaia..." (Hegedus Lorant. "A szekelyek kivandorlasa Romaniaban," Budapesta, 1902), and the historian Alexandru Szilagyi categorically states in his treatise that "Transylvania and Hungary were never merged and they always formed two different countries" (Alex. Szilagyi, "Erdelyorszag tortenete, Budapesta, I, 1859, p 56). The same Hungarian historian, in seeking the reasons why Transylvania was not "welded" with Hungary, said that "The needle of the Transylvanian compass seemed fixed upon the East because most of the population belonged to the eastern church, while in Hungary it pointed to the West ever since the time of its first king" (Alex. Szilagyi, "Erdelyorszag tortenete, Budapest, I, p 58).

With a presumptive number of 200,000 men, the Hungarian kings could not cope with the vast apostolic obligations they had assumed. They could not effectively rule or even assimilate the provinces they had invaded, so that they had to resort to colonizing them with Szeklers and Saxons and they had to bring in the religious orders of knights for the success of Catholic propaganda and the defense of the Carpathians. The Szeklers first settled in the western parts of Transylvania, in Crisana, and later, in the beginning of the 12th century, in southwestern Transylvania, where they remain today. The origin of the Szeklers is still disputed, whether they were descendants of the Avars, descendants of some Turkish populations or of some tribes who fled the Chazar Empire in the 9th century, or related to the Magyars. They maintained their way of life and institutions and their own organization the aghout the Middle Ages and often fought for freedom alongside the Romanians against Magyar aggression and later against Ottoman and Tatar aggression. Stefan the Great, voievod of Moldavia, fought the Turks at Vaslui in 1475 with 5,000 Szeklers in his army. Pentru /sic/ Rares, also a voievod of Moldavia, was aided by the Szeklers in his campaign in Transylvania in 1541. In 1599-1600 the Szeklers fought under the banner of Mihai Viteazul, voievod of Wallachia, against the cardinal-prince Andrei Bathory, who had deprived them of their privileges.

The groups of Germans who came from the territories west of the Rhine (some of them from Westphalia, Hesse, Thuringia and Bavaria as well) are known as Saxons. This population developed a culture of its own and, thanks to the privileges granted it by the kings of Hungary, conducted an important socioeconomic activity and contributed to the general progress of the region along with the Romanian people, the Hungarians and the Swabians.

The long existence of the Romanian lands as separate feudal states did not affect the Romanian people's ethic unity, reflected in their common language and culture and the similarities in economic, social and cultural structure throughout the whole area inhabited by Romanians. They always maintained their close political, economic and cultural ties and their largely identical or similar internal organization (princes, high officials, justice, armies and other feudal institutions). The people also maintained the Dacian ethnic identity for all inhabitants, even though they bore several names taken from geographic areas, designations of waters, mountains, etc. The names Wallachians, Moldavians, Transylvanians, Banatans, Bucovinans, Dobrogeans, or some more particularized ones like Noti (in the Apuseni Hountains), Vrinceni (in Vrancea), Birseni (in Tara Birsei) etc., all mean the same people, the Romanian people.

while the process of organization and consolidation of the Romanian feudal states was going on, the Ottoman Empire was conquering the peoples and states of the Balkan Peninsula and changing them into pashaliks, reaching the Danube line by the end of the lith century. Meanwhile other powerful states or empires were created or developed near the Romanian lands, such as the Polish Kingdom and the Habsburg and Csarist empires, which seriously threatened the Romanian people's independence and unity.

Under these circumstances the Romanian lands had to form a common front (political, military, diplomatic and economic) against the aggressions and expansionist actions of the great powers, who were disputing their interests at the expense of the Romanian and other neighboring peoples.

And so the struggle for unity, freedom and independence has been the main characteristic of the Romanian people's entire history, determining their very way life, their concepts, and their ideals (17).

#### 3. Status and Ottoman Relations of the Romanian Lands

Several terms have been used to describe this status, such as Turkish rule, Turkish domination, the Turkish regime etc. Today we know for certain that there was no Turkish rule in the Romanian lands as it was exercised over some Balkan peoples. The Romanian lands were not an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. They had special relations of suzerainty with the Porte that were characteristic of the feudal period, and they kept their own institutions, such as princes, national councils or divans, legal and administrative institutions, armies, the right to conclude agreements and treaties with other countries, etc. They were obliged to pay tribute to the Porte, and on that basis the Porte interfered in the principalities' affairs by enthroning and unseating princes.

Tradition confirmed by the historical facts attributes the conclusion of the first Capitulations (treaties) with the sultan to Mircea the Old for Wallachia and to Bogdan III, Stefan the Great's successor, for Moldavia. The chronicler Miron Costin and later Ion Neculce described Moldavia's deputation to Istanbul in 1511 and the establishment of relations of suzerainty between Moldavia and the Ottoman Empire. The first article of the treaty with Moldavia stipulated that "The Porte recognizes Moldavia as a free and unconquered country." Other articles stated that "Moldavia will be managed and governed according to its own laws without interference from the Porte" and that its princes would be elected for life by the people "and confirmed by the Sublime Porte." This confirmation, along with the annual tribute, were the main prerogatives of Turkish suzerainty.

The sultan assumed highly important obligations to defend Moldavia against any aggression "so that not the slightest wrong shall be done to it and without allowing the slightest impairment of its territory," and to the effect that "The Turks cannot hold nor purchase lands in Moldavia... nor build any mosques there" (18).

The provisions of the Capitulations concerning both Moldavia and Wallachia were reflected in the historical facts of Romanian-Ottoman relations in the lith-19th centuries, and they were also to be recognized by other European powers in the great international treaties of the 19th century (Paris, 1856 etc.).

The Porte recognized Transylvania as an autonomous voievodate after 1541, when Hungary became a Turkish pashalik as a result of the defeat at Mohacs.

The Romanian lands' development was characterized by permanent economic ties between them that crossed the artifical and temporary political borders and were a powerful factor for the Romanian people's unity. The economies of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia supplemented each other in an inseparable unity.

Although Transylvania was forced into political dependence upon the Hungarian feudal kingdom for several centuries up to 1526, its economy took a different turn from that of the Hungarian kingdom proper, gravitating toward the other two Romanian principalities to the east and southeast, Moldavia and Wallachia. This natural orientation of its economic ties has been recognized by many Romanian and foreign historians, economists and geographers, including Hungarian ones. One of them, Jeno Kalnoky, acknowledged in an intensive study in 1915 based on specific facts and data that Transylvania "would not rally here (i.e., to Budapest -- our note). It remained apart as a distinct physical-geographic unit, and that situation was always apparent throughout history. Whether it was Dacia or the Principality of Transylvania it always had a history of its own..."

The collapse of the Hungarian feudal kingdom after 1526 caused many major and minor Hungarian feudal nobles to flee from their Hungarian lands that were converted to pashaliks and take refuge in the independent voievodate of Transylvania, swelling the ranks of the exploiters. Meanwhile various voievods of Transylvania of Hungarian origin sought unity with Moldavia and Wallachia in order to help Hungary free itself of the Turkish occupation. This was true of Gabor Bethlen, Racozi and others.

The existence of the same legal status vis-a-vis the Porte for Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia strengthened the ties between the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians and encouraged the development of collaboration on many levels among the three Romanian states. The unification in 1600 was an inevitable necessity due to the objective historical development of the Romanian lands and the struggle of the broad masses and the entire people. The political situation accordingly called for the appearance of a personality of Mihai Viteazul's stature who could fulfill an ideal for which they and other illustrious forebears had militated in their time.

As a symbol of their historic right to a free and independent life in their ancestral homeland, the Romanian people succeeded in accomplishing the most brilliant deed of their medieval period by achieving, under Mihai Voda Viteazul's reign nearly 4 centuries ago, the first political unification of the Romanian lands within the borders that included most of the territory of ancient Dacia.

The need to create a significant military force drove the Romanian prince to accomplish the unification of the Romanian lands of the same people, and he thereby exalted the idea of uniting the Romanian lands which had been promoted before him by Mircea the old, Iancu of Hunedoara, Stefan the Great, Ioan Voda the Bold and other brave princes and voievods. Mihai Voda carried on Petru Rares' idea and formed the "Ducian plan," which the despot prince or the Batory princes of Transylvania had tried to implement and which had taken shape in Sigismund Batory's attempt to make Transylvania the centerpiece in the "restoration" of ancient Dacia. For example, the Polish chronicler Stanislav Sarmicki stated that the despot prince was trying to unite Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, which "the native places of the Dacians."

In Mihai Viteusul's time there were veritable explosions in Transylvania of popular feelings of Romanian solidarity, based on the idea of unity. As the chronicler Szamoskozy said, "The Romanians who lived in villages throughout Transylvania joined the

men of the same origin from across the Carpathians and rebelled everywhere (against the exploiting nobility), full of the confidence inspired in them by a prince of their people." The same thing is attested by the Saxon chronicler G. Kraus: "The Romanians rebelled then because... Mihai was one of their people, that is a Romanian."

Mihai met with almost no resistance at all in Moldavia, the third Romanian land, which had the same aspirations to liberation as Wallachia and Transylvania. The chronicle said, "The wole army came with the people and surrendered to him."

Mihai Viteazul's unification accordingly was based on a Romanian solidarity born of the Romanians' consciousness of belonging to the same people, that is the consciousness of their unity.

Although the unification of the Romanian lands under Mihai Viteazul's rule was of short duration, it remained a living presence in the thoughts and feelings of both the contemporaries and their descendants. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "... the idea of uniting the Romanian lands and the ideals of forming a strong state in the regions of Dacia could never be killed because they are deeply rooted in the very blood and in the minds and consciousness of the entire Romanian people" (19).

Mihai's feat at the height of Ottoman power showed the oppressed Balkan peoples that state liberation and unity were quite possible. That also explains why the great Romartian prince figures in the oral and written literature of the peoples south of the Damube who were subjugated by the Ottomans, who saw their liberator in Mihai. It says in many contemporary accounts that "The Serbs. Bulgarians and Dalmatians awaited the voieved of Wallachia across the Danube in order to surrender to him." "The Christians in Bulgaria and beyond the Danube awaited him with great entreaties and urged him daily to come and liberate them." The chronicler Stavrinos expressed the same thoughts when he wrote, "The Serbs and Bulgarians sided with Mihai and waited anxiously to see him come to them and to surrender to him. The most progressive personalities of Romanian culture in the whole medieval period and in the modern period after it and writings published on both sides of the Carpathians and on both sides of Milcov referred with veneration to Mihai Viteazul's personality and period and to the unification inflaming all Romanians' age-old aspiration to unity within their natural borders. The historian Grigore Tocilescu was quite right in pointing out that "Mihai has remained forever the national hero of all Romanians and the symbol of unification of the brothers separated by their cruel fate and invading neighbors." In his turn Nicolae Iorga wrote, "To forget Mihai Viteazul would be to forget curselves and to abandon our mission now and forever."

The historical facts show that from the second half of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century on, when the power of the Ottoman Empire was declining and that of the Habsburg and Czarist empires was growing, the Romanian lands were on the border-line of the interests of the three great empires. Under these circumstances the Porte, in the effort to cope with the constant pressures from the other imperial courts, often tried to resolve its military and political difficulties at the expense of the Romanian lands. To protect themselves from the consequences of this situation, the Romanian lands concluded a number of treaties on terms of equality guaranteeing peace and their free development even if for short periods, such as the treaties with Russia, who assumed the role of protector of the Orthodox peoples against Ottoman oppression while keeping a close eye on a number of territories under Ottoman domination. The first political treaty, already well known, was concluded between Moldavia and Russia on 7 May 1656, in the reigns of Gheorghe Stefan and Czar Alexey Mihaylovich.

In the first article of this treaty Russia promised to respect the customs of Moldavia as they were before, that is with no interference in policy or administration:

"I. Our customs and those of our people shall not be impaired, but we and our entire people shall live and conduct ourselves in the way and in the same manner as we have lived and as the other princes of our land conducted themselves in this world, who were not subject to nor under the rule of the Turkish Empire."

Moreover the treaty concluded by Dimitrie Centemir, prince of Moldavia, with Peter the Great, czar of Russia, on 13 April 1711 stipulates in Article 6 that "All state power will be in the hands of the prince" (20). And in Article 11 the czar of Russia recognized that "The boundaries of the Principality of Moldavia according to its ancient rights are those described by the Dniester, Camenet and Bender (Tighina), by the whole territory of Bugeac, the Damube, Wallachia and the Grand Duchy of Transylvania, and by the territory of Poland according to the demarcation made" (21).

The Romanian people's struggle for unity and independence was to develop further both in united Romania in 1859 and in the territories subjugated by foreign powers, in spite of the interference of the great powers.

An extremely serious situation developed in Transylvania after the Austro-Hungarian dualist pact was concluded in 1867, obliterating any trace of that province's centuries-old independence and, with the most disastrous consequences for the Romanian population there, forcibly incorporating it in the Hungarian state.

The reforms adopted during Al. C. Cuza's reign were true acts of opposition to the seven powers' pretense of "guaranteeing" the Romanian people's development, resulting in their repeated attempts to annul the unification by direct intervention under the pretext of some complaints of some circles of landowners.

#### 4. Development of the Modern National Consciousness

When in the course of the collapse of the feudal system and the appearance and development of capitalist relations beginning in the second half of the 18th century the dynamic impetus of capitalist economic progress was added to the factors of material and spiritual unity, unity of language and culture, ethnic unity and that of consciousness of common origin, aspirations and ideals, the need to expand and secure a uniform market and consciousness of a common origin developed into the national consciousness and the aspiration to unity became a political goal, the goal of uniting all Romanian forces in a single national state.

An important part in developing the national consciousness as a historical phenomenon was played by the contingent of famous chroniclers as well as the noted representatives of Romanian culture who helped to develop the consciousness of the Romanian people's unity and their common origin by emphasizing their centuries—long struggles against invaders and the high points of their history (Gr. Ureche, M. Costin et al.).

Thanks to the national unification in 1600, the characteristics of consciousness of origin and language were developed more and more extensively in the 17th-18th centuries. In that period the feeling for national history predominated in Romanian opinion. The Romanian political program is conveyed in the document of profound analysis and synthesis of the interests of the Romanian nation as a whole known as the Supplex Libellus Valachorum (1791). Although it was written and adapted to the facts in

Transylvania, where the Romanians (men of the soil) were not recognized as a nation with equal rights alongside Hungarians, Saxons and Szeklers (national minorities), this program-document opened up a new stage of the Romanian national movement. The idea of a Romanian nation with inalienable rights to its ancestral land and the right to organize its life in freedom and without restriction is clearly expressed and came to support the political and social actions in the next stage. In 1804, the new Romanian Supplex Libellus clearly stated that the Romanians were "freeholders in Dacia (Dachia), consisting of Transylvania, Wallachia, Holdo-Vlahia and the Banat" and then added, "This people were divided in government, each country with its voievod, just as Wallachia and Moldavia are governed today."

Accordingly the movement for national liberation and unity acquired new dimensions in the Transylvanian School and the cultural and political movements and associations in Wallachia and Moldavia. The words "Dacia" and "Daco-Romania" became a manifesto in the literary and historical publications of the period.

Among these people and in this intellectual climate the men appeared who were to advance the cultural movement of national resurgence even further, as an ideological reaction to the socioeconomic changes during the crisis of feudalism and the development of capitalism, namely Samuil Micu (nephew of his precursor, Ioan Inochentie Clain), Fetru Maior and Gheorghe Sincai. Their historical, philological and didactic works carried on the efforts of our great Moldavian and Wallachian scholars. The Romanian people's common historical origin and continuous existence in their native land, and ideas that guided the preceding chroniclers half a century before were substantiated with scientific arguments by the leaders of the Transylvanian School. Like Dimitrie Cantenir, the pioneer, these representatives of the illuminist theory knew how to make their writing a theoretical foundation and a weapon of a centuries—long creed, a task that should be better presented by historians.

Created and fostered by the consciousness of origin, the culture raised that consciousness to a new level, preparing the Romanian people for the effort whereby they would see the culmination of their struggle in national unity and independence in the new historical stage that was announced.

## 5. Unity and Independence in the Modern Period

The 1821 revolution, led by Tudor Vladimirescu and caused by the highly complex and tense domestic and foreign conditions affecting the Romanian lands, marked a turning point in the struggle for national freedom, social justice, abolition of foreign domination and assertion of the Romanian people's legitimate rights that characterized the beginnings of the modern period of Romanian history.

In its extent and intensity and by virtue of the national and social program it upheld, the 1821 revolution was the Romanians' greatest uprising to win their nation's legitimate rights since Mihai Viteazul's successful attempt in 1600. In Mihail Kogalniceamu's view, Tudor Vladimirescu raised the "national banner in Wallachia, notifying the Romanians that the time had come for the nation to shake off the foreigners' rule, to do away with the abuses that were rending it, and to acquire a national government."

The revolutionary events of 1871 included, in one way or another, all the territories inhabited by Romanians regardless of their political or legal status. While Tudor Vladimirescu was restoring native rule in Wallachia after more than a century of gross violations by the Ottoman Forte of the provisions of the treaties with the Romanian

lands, there were fierce national and social uprisings in Moldavia that led to the forced removal of some representatives of the administration imposed by the Ottomans, which was an important step toward restoring native rule in that Romanian land too. And in the program document of 5 April 1821 Tudor formulated the idea of the Romanians' solidarity and common struggle for the common national goal: "Being of one mind and one voice with Moldavia, we can win the rights of both principalities by helping each other." And the revolutionary events south of the Carpathians were accompanied in Transylvania too by the uprisings and unrest of the Romanians awaiting the arrival of Tudor ("Prince Todor"). As it says in a contemporary document, "All the circumstances indicate that the Romanian peasants here sympathize with the events in Wallachia, and if there were an invasion from that quarter they would undoubted be inclined to join it." These uprisings took place against the background of the aggravated forced denationalization of the Transylvanian Romanians, who were refused the status of a nation equal in rights to the three privileged nationalities in Transylvania. In opposition to the Hungarian chauvinist attempts to introduce Hungarian instead of Latin in the administration of the province, the Transylvanian humanist of German origin Stephan Ludwig Roth acknowledged in 1842 that the Romanians were the majority population in Transylvania and advocated Romanian as the official language: "I see no need of imposing an official language on the country because we already have a national language. It is meither German nor Hungarian but the Romanian language (22).

In the period between the revolutions of 1821 and 1848 national liberation of the Romanians under foreign rule, their unification in a single national state, and full independence of any kind of foreign interference or domination (bourgeois-democratic reforms) were the main common problems of the whole Romanian people's struggle, and they were asserted and maintained with particular force in the 1848 revolution. Nicolae Balcescu expressed these aims most clearly when he wrote, We wish to be one nation, one strong and free nation by our right and our duty to the other nations, because we wish our happiness and have a mission to fulfill for mankind... National unity was the cherished dream of our brave voievods and all our brave men, who embodied the individuality and intent of the people to manifest it to the world. For that they lived, worked, suffered and died" (23).

The Romanian revolution of 1848 was a uniform one and marked an important point in Romania's transition to capitalist development. It expressed the resolve of the Moldavians, Wallachians and Transylvanians to create national unity within the borders of one and the same state and to progress steadily on the path of social progress.

In pointing out the uniform character of the revolution Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Born of the same conditions, occurring in the same period and proclaiming common goals, the revolutionary events of 1848 were uniform in all the Romanian lands. They were focused everywhere upon abolition of feudal servitude, liberation of the serfs, introduction of the bourgeois democratic freedoms, abolition of foreign domination and achievement of national unity and independence, which were democratic aims that concerned the broadest social strata and corresponded to the aspirations to independent development of the Romanian nation" (24).

The revolution of the Transylvanian Romanians was an integral part of the Romanian revolution in 1848, and it emphasized political emancipation of the Romanians and unification with Romania.

Some Hungarian historical works still support the theory of the alleged "counterrevolutionary" character of the Transylvanian Romanians' struggle on the basis of

"collaboration" with the Habsburgs, a theory that revived nationalist ideas conveyed by the Hungarian leaders back in 1848. As we know Lajos Kossuth, the leader of the Hungarian revolution in 1848, did not understand the necessity of granting national freedom to the peoples oppressed by the Hungarian crown. He siad, "The territorial integrity and political unity of the country (feudal Hungary -- our note) are the framework within which the nationalities problem must be solved... I regard dismemberment of the country according to languages and destruction of its political unity according to the languages as crimes against the nation." This explains the refusal of the main leaders of the Hungarian revolution to recognize the rights of the Romanian people as a political nation, as well as the decisions to maintain backward feudal conditions in Transylvamia and to send troops to massacre the Romanian population. All this culminated in the decision of the reactionary Cluj Diet, composed of representatives of the privileged nationalities, to annex Transylvania to Hungary despite the Romanians' emphatic protests.

But we must say that representatives of some progressive factions within the Hungarian nation opposed such a chauvinist policy. In the words of 15 MARCH, the Hungarian newspaper published in Pest, "In Transylvania two powers have to decide the fate of the union (of Transylvania with Hungary -- our note), namely the Diet and the Romanian people. The Diet represents only a few hundred people, while the Romanian people mean all Transylvania. The union of Transylvania with Hungary without the Romanians' consent is something we do not in the least support."

Expressing their veto of the decision of the Hungarian aristocracy in the Cluj Diet to annex Transylvania to Hungary without the consent of the Romanians, who were in the majority in the province, the peasants who came to Blaj on 18/30 April 1848 declared, "We do not sell our country and we wish to know nothing of the unification that the lords (the Hungarian nobles) want to make without telling the Romanians. We wish above all to be free in our country, and as serfs we cannot make agreements with foreign countries. After we are free, as a free nation, we shall see with what country we unite and have to deal."

Some foreign historians also overlook the efforts of some leaders of the Romanian revolution to unite the Romanians and Hungarians in the struggle against the absolutist empires that threatened both peoples alike. Avram Iancu said to Simonffy, "Nature has placed us in one and the same region so that by cultivating it together we may toil together and taste the sweetness of its fruits together. Be fully convinced that the weapons can never distinguish between you and us. The same ideas were expressed by the Hungarian revolutionary fighter Josef Simonffy, who said, "The Romanians and Hungarians have an absolute need of the closest brotherhood. That is the only way they will preserve their existence. Therefore who sows hatred and causes bloodshed between these two nations is a traitor to his own nation. And the Saxon publication SATELITT /sic/ said, "Let the dividing walls no longer isolate the Saxon, Hungarian and Romanian. Those three, in a close friendly alliance, will victoriously resist any dark enemy and will develop together."

From its beginnings the Romanian revolution of 1848 encountered the fierce opposition of the great neighboring absolutists empires, Habsburg, charist and Ottoman, which cooperated in crushing it. In explaining the causes of the defeat of the Romanian revolution in 1848 Nicolae Ceausescu said, "One of the main reasons for the defeat of the revolution was the brutal intervention of foreign reactionary forces, the great neighboring empires profoundly hostile to the Romanian people's emancipation effort, to their national and social liberation, and to their unification in a single state.

The 1848 revolution in the Romanian lands seemed a threat to the existence of those reactionary empires" (25). The chanceries of the great neighboring powers tried to present the revolution as a phenomenon foreign to the Romanian people's minds and interests, as a trend "imported" by a band of rebels.

#### 6. Formation of the Modern Romanian State

The great ideals of the 1848 revolution for which the Romanian masses fought were to bear fruit only a decade later when, on 24 January 1859, the union of Moldavia and Wallachia, "the powerful feat of completing the Romanian nation," laid the foundations of the modern Romanian national state and accordingly foiled the great powers' plots against the Romanians. As we know, in the Crimean War (1853-1856) the national-revolutionary actions in the Romanian lands made the Romanian question a Buropean problem that the great powers had to discuss at the Paris Peace Conference in 1856. The conference abolished the charist Russian "protectorate" over the Romanian Principalities (instituted after the Peace of Adrianople in 1829), returned the three counties in southern Bessarabia and Serpi Island to Holdavia, and placed the Romanian Principalities under the guarantee of the seven great powers. The conference also called for consultation of the Romanian people concerning the future of the two principalities. As we also know, some of the great powers plotted to keep Holdavia and Wallachia separate, which would make it easier for them to maneuver behind the scenes or interfere in their internal affairs.

The unification of the principalities, as an expression of the Romanian people's wish for national freedom and unity, brought out once again and in the most convincing way the unamimity of aspirations and action of all classes and strata of Romanian society in both Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as the role of the masses as makers of history and the major contribution that can be made by the personalities who are identified with the broad masses' aspirations and understand the direction of historical development. Nihail Kogalniceams expressed this great historic truth very clearly when he declared in the ad-hoc assembly of Moldavia that "The unification of the principalities in a single state is the greatest and most general desire. It has been fostered by all past generations, it is the soul of the present generation and, now fulfilled it will make the future generations happy. It is natural, legitimate and absolute because in Moldavia and Wallachia we are the same people, homogeneous and identical as no other, and because we have the same beginning, the same name, the same language, the same religion, the same history, the same civilization, the same laws and customs, the same principles and hopes, the same needs to fill, the same borders to guard, the same hardships to bear, the same future to secure and, finally, the same mission to accomplish" (26).

The unification of the principalities had a great effect in the other Romanian provinces still under foreign rule, giving them new grounds for their abiding hope to unite with Romania. As Alexandru Papiu Ilarian wrote in 1860, "...the Romanians in Transylvania look only to the principalities under the present circumstances, await the signal from there, and see their salvation from there alone. When Prince Cura was elected the enthusiasm among the Transylvanian Romanians was perhaps even greater than in the principalities..."

Some foreign historians accept the idea that the unification in 1859 was backward in nature lecause it interrupted the formation and development of the "Moldavian nation." They resuce the objective, regular process of unification of the two Romanian provinces to "a bargain among the top Moldavian boyars, who betrayed the interests of

the Moldavian people and joined the top bourgeoisie in Mallachia. At the same time they accept the idea that since there was no Romanian nation or state until 1859, all the territorial seisures were justified because they were negotiated with the Ottoman Empire. These ideas blatantly conflict with the historical truth and serve the allegation that Moldavia was not a historical Romanian province, that the Moldavians are not Romanians, that they speak another language, and that they are consequently a distinct ethnic and state-political unit.

Actually the unification in 1859 laid the foundations for the modern Romanian national state and was a decisive historical event for the Romanian people, who created favorable conditions for gaining absolute national independence and completing the formation of the single national state.

The Romanian people's structure for unity and independence was to develop even further, both in Romania united in 1859 and in the territories subjugated by foreign powers, despite the interference of the great empires.

An extremely difficult situation arose in Transylvania after the conclusion of the dualist Austro-Hungarian pact in 1867, which destroyed any trace of that province's autonomy of many centuries and forcibly incorporated it in the Hungarian state, with the most disastrous consequences for the Romanian population there.

The reforms edopted during A.I. Ouza's reign were true acts of opposition to the seven powers' claim to "guarantee" the Romanian people's development, and they resulted in repeated attempts on the seven powers' part to annul the unification by direct intervention on the pretext of some complaints of some circles of landowners.

As we know, the centuries of sacrifices and ceaseless efforts on behalf of national freedom and progress objectively resulted in the historic act of 9 May 1877, the proclamation of Romania's absolute independence by Parliament by a unanimous vote after the Ottoman government repeatedly refused to settle recognition of Romania's independence politically. In response to the attacks of the Romanian army south of the Damube Romania mobilized its entire military-economic potential for national defense, confirming Parliament's decision for independence on the battlefield. In the war that broke out between Turkey and Russia, wherein the former tried to maintain its unjust rule over many Balkan countries and peoples and the latter to extend its domination in that area, Romania won complete independence and transformed the war into a people's national one.

In the face of the truth, some Bulgarian and Soviet historians minimize Romania's decisive contribution to the victory almost to the point of denying it by attributing it solely to the czarist troops. Moreover those historians falsely maintain that the independence of Romania and Serbia and the autonomy of Bulgaria were won thanks to czarist Russia. But the telegrams of Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia are well known in which he asked Prince Carol I to intervene immediately with the Romanian army: "The Turks are massing the greatest forces at Plevna and destroying it. Please make a merger, a demonstration and a Damube crossing if possible" (27). The Turkish troop commander himself, Osman Pasha, surrendered to the Romanian troops (to General Cerchez). The Romanian army's participation changed the course of the war and secured the victory over Turkey.

Despite Romania's major contribution to the war, the policy of force and dictation characteristic of the great powers fully asserted itself. The presuble to the

Peace of San Stefano (3 March 1878) was dictated to the Porte solely by csarist Russia without including the Romanian government representative in the negotiations, with the result that the provisions of the peace treaty considerably strengthened Russia's positions to the detriment of Romania's interests and territorial integrity (Russia annexed the three counties in southern Bessarabia again). When Romania protested, the cmarist army began to organize the occupation of Romania, compelling the withdrawal of the Romanian army to Oltenia to organize the resistance.

The consolidation of czarist Russia's positions in the Balkans displeased the great powers, who had the peace negotiations shifted to Berlin (1878). In Berlin the Romanian government representatives (Prime Minister I. C. Bratianu and Foreign Minister M. Kogalniceanu) were not admitted to the negotiations or decisions of the congress although Romania had suffered heavy human and material losses. At Berlin Romania's state independence was recognized and its former territory of Dobrogea, until then under Ottoman dominion, was ceded back to it, but it was robbed of the counties in southern Bessarabia although Russia had promised in the agreement of 4 April 1877 at Livadia to guarantee its territorial integrity at the time.

The Homanian people's victory of 9 May 1877 was welcomed by international progressive forces and the peoples who were also engaged in the national liberation struggle. The victory had a particular impact in the Southeast European area, where the Serbs, Montenegrans, Croats, Bulgarians and other peoples were battling fiercely at the time to throw off foreign domination.

Romanian independence was an important component of the objective process of liberation and unification of the subjugated nations in independent states of their own, which process developed tempestuously on the European continent in the second half of the last century. A number of revolutionaries from the neighboring oppressed countries, especially Bulgaria, found refuge on Romanian soil and formed detachments that opened the struggle for their own peoples' national emancipation.

The acquisition of absolute state independence opened the way to modern Romania's development and advancement in the concert of Buropean nations and to fulfillment of the Romanian people's other vital aspirations.

# 7. Beginnings of the Formation of the Working Class

The conditions for the formation of the working class, a process begun in the second half of the 18th century when the first enterprises of the capitalist type were formed, developed in Romania against the background of the Romanian people's struggle for unity and independence and their progress in socioeconomic development. As the productive forces and industry developed, the working class became a powerful revolutionary factor for progress as the most advanced force of society and a consistent bearer of the ideals of progress and of the Romanian people's social and national liberation.

The appearance and progress of the working class in the arena of history are inseparable from the spread of ideas of scientific socialism in Romania. Those ideas bore fut in the soil of a rich revolutionary and democratic tradition in Romanian social-political thought and the spread of utopian socialism, practically expressed by the organization in 1835-1836 of the phalanstery at Scaieni (Prahova County), one of the first of the kind in Europe.

Warious labor organizations were started in the middle of the last century, like the Brasov Printers Association (1863) or the Bucharest Printers Association (1859), and by 1872 there were over 50 professional and political labor organizations, making it necessary to form the General Association of Workers in Romania in 1872, which is one of the oldest labor organizations in Europe.

The development of the labor movement, the formation of the socialist workers circles and rural socialist clubs, and an extensive democratic, socialist press evolved toward the founding of the PSDMR /Social-Democratic Workers Party of Romania/ in 1893, an event that denoted the political organisation of the working class on a national scale. In its program the PSDMR proposed to militate under the leadership of the proletariat and the masses for "transfer of all instruments of labor to the collective ownership of society as a whole" and for "the founding of socialist society."

Anchored in the social-political realities of the country, the Romanian labor party expressed itself on all the great problems troubling Romanian society and recommended solutions, in keeping with the aspirations of the masses, to such basic questions as national industrial development, the agrarian problem, granting democratic rights and freedoms, and construction of the uniform national state.

The presence of Romanian revolutionaries at the barricades of the Paris Commune and their participation in the activity of the international organizations, the First Communist International and the Socialist International are significant as expressions of the revolutionary spirit and international solidarity of the working class in Romania.

It must also be said that the party had to face many difficulties, some caused by political and ideological inconsistencies in its management that resulted in troubles and disturbances within the party at the end of the 19th century, leading to interruption of the activity of the centralized party administration. Nevertheless the revolutionary struggle went on and various labor organizations remained active and continued to concentrate increasingly numerous labor forces. The Working Romania socialist circles (1901), the Socialist Union of Romania (1907), the Social-Democratic Party of Romania (1910) led the workers actions as avant-garde political forces at the beginning of the 20th century. They carried on and developed the revolutionary traditions of the proletariat and the party founded in 1893 in a natural process of continuity and progress, firmly anchoring the labor movement in the realities of the country and constantly enhancing its power and its influence upon Romanian society.

# 8. Romania's Socioeconomic Development at the Start of the 20th Century

Upon analyzing Romania's socioeconomic development in the first two decades of this century, we readily conclude that Romania was in the first stage of capitalist development with an agrarian economy and a developing industry. Capitalist relations predominated throughout the economy, interwoven with feudal remnants that were still strong in agriculture.

This disproves certain assertions circulated several years ago in Romanian historical and technical literature and still made today by foreign historians, especially in the USSR, Bulgaria and Hungary, to the effect that Romania entered the stage of monopolist capitalism at the beginning of the 20th century and became an imperialist state. Ignoring the realities of the stage of national economic and social-political development, that opinion is based upon such a syllogism as this: If the whole world passed

into imperialism at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, then Homania also passed into imperialism. Hence their attempts to present as typically monopolistic the phenomena of concentration of production and centralization of capital, characteristic of any country that was noving toward capitalism, as well as the conclusion of some agreements of a monopolistic nature in the sugar, cement and milling industries and later in the petroleum and other industries. This deliberately overlooks the fact that they were far from playing a predominant part in the mation's economic and political activity and were rather expressions of tariff protectionism and an attempt on the part of foreign capital to organize Romanian industry according to nonopolist criteria. The fact is also overlooked that these agreements of a nonopolistic nature were ephemeral (Except in a few sectors they were concluded for 2-) years) and very limited in scope, representing only 11 percent of the nation's gross industrial output. Purthermore they were not intended to organize production but primarily to sell the products on the domestic market. No monopolistic cartel formed in Romania acquired international importance or invaded the foreign market. Romania was not a capital-exporting country but on the contrary a capital-importing country, an object of the struggle of the imperialist powers to divide up spheres of influence.

Meanwhile strong feudal remnants permisted in agriculture although it was the basic sector of the economy.

It is very important to note that Romania had not yet achieved its own national and state unity and that more than half of its population and territory were still under foreign domination.

All this shows the absurdity of the assertions that were and are intended to present Romania as an imperialist state, for the ultimate purpose of substantiating the idea that the Romanian single national state was formed at the end of 1918 by an imperialist state pursuing an imperialist policy. That is why we must clarify the stage of Romanda's capitalist development at the beginning of the 20th century.

#### 9. Formation of the Romanian Single National State

In presenting the process of forming the Romanian single national state in 1918, we begin with the revolutionary struggle of the Romanian people and their progressive forces against foreign domination and for national justice and state unity.

World War I, which broke out in 1914, and was prepared by the great powers, was imperialistic throughout and in pursuit of division and redivision of territories and spheres of ionimation and influence among the great imperialist powers at the expense of the small and medium nations. At the start of the war Romania declared itself neutral because it did not feel obligated to comply with the provisions of the treaty with Dermany and Austria-Sungary in 1883, since that treaty was a defensive one calling for mutual sid in case of a foreign attack upon one of the parties. Furthermore the Romamian rulers had realized years before that the main obstacle at the time to the Romamians' basic aim was Austria-Hungary seconded by Germany. In the discussions of the Grown Council in 1911, some politicians favored entering the war on the side of the Central Powers against coarist Russis and demanding annulment of of the Treaty of 1812 concerning Bessarabia (P. Carp, C. Stere and Marghiloman) while others favored entry on the side of the Entente powers against the Central Powers in order to liberate the Momanian territories under Austro-Hungarian domination (28). The neutral position reflected the nation's particular situation in its effort to achieve the single mational state.

Some materials published abroad accept the idea that Romania used its neutrality to bargain with the two warring blocs in order to obtain the greatest possible advantages, whereas actually the Romanian government used its ? years of neutrality to strengthen the nation's defensive capacity and to secure diplomatic and military support from the Entente for recognition of the Romanian people's national rights to the territories under Austro-Hungarian domination (Transylvania, the Banat, Crisana, Maramures and Bucovina).

Accordingly Romania's participation in the war was dictated by legitimate national aims as it allied itself with the Entente, which promised it fulfillment of the aim of national unity. After ? years of neutrality Romania entered the war in August 1916 according to the Crown Council's decision, after the Entente powers had accepted the Romanian government's just requests for unification of Transylvania, the Barat, Crisana and Maramures with Romania. In the great battles of Marasti, Marasesti and Oitus in defense of their ancestral land, the Romanian army and entire people displayed heroism and dedication to the cause of the nation and its freedom, unity and independence, in addition to the long series of struggles and sacrifices of the Romanians in the great epic of national unity. Through them and its contribution to the defeat of the Central Powers, Romania acquired its legitimate right on the international level as well to complete its national boundaries.

The struggle for national and state unity entered a new stage toward the close of World War I and was finished in 1918.

The fall of Russian czarism and the victory of the new socialist revolution in October in Russia resounded like an inspired call to the struggle to fulfill the aspirations of all peoples of the world to freedom and self-determination.

The peoples' movement for national self-determination and abolition of foreign domination also included the Romanian prople's struggle. It was of a broad, bourgeois democratic nature, involving the bourgeoisie, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the other social and political forces.

As we know, under the given historical circumstances Bessarabia was united with Romania on 27 March 1918 by decision of the National Council, which was formed on the basis of elections.

In the Romanian provinces in Austria-Hungary, news of the victory of the Russian revolution aroused hopes and spurred the struggle for national liberation.

The great demonstrations organized throughout 1918, the entire people's participation in the cause of unification, and the actions initiated by the cultural associations and societies reflected the act of will of the whole Romanian nation. The Romanian nation's attitude helped decisively to expedite liquidation of a despetic and aggressive regime and to break the chains of national oppression throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire. One after another the Serbs, Czechs, Poles and Romanians were liberated and established in states of their own.

The independent state of the Czechs and Slovaks was founded on 28 October 1910 [sic]. The southern regions, of Yugoslavia, were separated from Austria-Hungary on 28 October 1918 and later formed the Yugoslav state. Poland gained its state independence on 7 November 1918. On 9 November 1918 the monarchy was abolished and the Derman Republic was proclaimed. The Republic of Austria was proclaimed and the monarchy was abolished on 17 November 1910 [sic]. The Republic of Hungary was proclaimed on 19 November 1918 and Transylvania was united with Romania on 1 December 1918.

Both the democratic revolutionary movement and the national unity movement acted to the same purpose.

Events in Transylvania were closely parallel. The Central Romanian National Council was formed on 18/31 October 1918 "as the only forum that represented the will of the Romanian people." It was composed of six social-democrats and six representatives of the Romanian National Party.

Local and regional national councils were formed throughout Transylvania, as well as national guards, as organs of a broad bourgeois-democratic movement operating under the Central Romanian National Council.

In their turn the events in Transylvania affected and expedited the course of events in Bucovina. On 15/28 November the congress of representatives of the population of Bucovina unanimously decreed "uncoditional and perpetual unification of Bucovina in its former boundaries with Romania."

On 1 December 1918 over 100,000 people, workers, peasants, intellectuals and tradesmen, assembled at Alba Iulia on Horia Field to confirm the regular, objective and progressive act concluding the formation of the Romanian single national state. The assembly was attended by 1,228 delegates elected by vote of the electoral circles or political organizations and Romanian institutions in Transylvania, including politicians and leaders of the national movement, and by 150 delegates of the Romanian social-democrats representing about 70,000 organized workers, both Romanian and Hungarian, German and other nationalities. It should be noted that the government in Budapest not only was unable to prevent the National Assembly of Romanians at Alba Iulia from being held but had to make trains available to the delegates in order to travel to travel to Alba Iulia.

The assembly on 1 December 1918 ratified the historic Alba Iulia Declaration, wherein the Grand National Assembly solemnly proclaimed the "unification of Transylvania and the Banat with Romania in perpetuity."

We should point out that the historic unification of Transylvania with Romania was supported by the progressive representatives of the Hungarian people as well as the workers belonging to the national minorities in Transylvania interested in abolishing national and social oppression. It said in the manifesto of 3 November 1918, signed by the major representatives of Hungarian cultural and political affairs including Endre Ady, Gyorgy Bartok, Zoltan Kodaly and Jeno Varga, that "We have no claim upon our sister nations, and we consider ourselves a renewed nation, a power now liberated upon the ruins of the monarchy. We feel relieved by the knowledge that we are no longer compelled to be the pillars of oppression. Let us live together in peace as free nations with other free nations." In his turn the Hungarian prefect of Arad County, Dr Lajos Varjassy, said, "I find it natural as can be that a people with dignity no longer wish to tolerate slavery, as we (the Hungarians -- our note) did not tolerate it on the part of Austria."

A manifesto in January 1919 notified the public of the rural population's decision to unite with Romania, sending the Romanian people "brotherly greetings with hearty congratulations upon the fulfillment of their national ideals. The same attitude was taken by the Swabians in the Banat, who assembled at the congress in Timisoara, held in August 1919, and expressed their devotion to Romania, regarding "the decision at Alba Iulia as a guarantee of ethnic and cultural development. And in January 1919 the

Jewish population in Transylvania also supported the decision to unite Transylvania with Romania and to found the Romanian single national state.

Therefore in teaching history we must make it more clear that the formation of the Romanian single national state was the work of the whole Romanian people and that the unification in the memorable year of 1918 was the victorious culmination of the centuries-long struggle of the most progressive forces of the Romanian people. In bringing out the historical circumstances of the completion of that process Micolae Ceausescu said, "The creation of the Romanian single national state was not a gift or the result of international arrangements, but the fruit of the tireless struggle of the most advanced forces of society and the masses for unification, the due product of the Romanian people's historical, social and national development" (29). The peace treaties of Saint Germain (1919), Trianon and Paris (1920) confirmed internationally an actual situation created by the struggle of the masses.

The unification in 1918 opened up prospects for more rapid development of the nation's productive forces and created new opportunities for intensifying the activity of the progressive social forces and the revolutionary labor movement. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "The formation of the single national state marked Romania's entry upon a new stage in its socioeconomic evolution, characterized by rapid growth of the productive forces and accelerated capitalist development" (30).

As we know the composition of the Romanian single national state included a population of other nationalities which, however, did not modify Romania's uniform character, a fact fully confirmed by its demographic evolution. According to the 1980 census Romania's ethic structure, which totaled 18,057,074 inhabitants as of that date, was as follows: 73 percent Romanians, 7.1 percent Hungarians, 4.01 percent Jews, 4 percent Germans, and 11 percent other nationalities, so that the national minorities accounted for 27 percent of the total inhabitants of the country, and most of that population was settled in the Romanian territories that had been under foreign rule for a long time.

Nicolae Ceausescu's speech on the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Romanian single national state contains comments on Romanian-Hungarian relations in 1918-1920. It says in this important document that "Both the bourgeois revolution and the Soviet power established in Hungary in 1919, not fully understanding the principles of the peoples' right to self-determination, failed to recognize from the very start the regular and accordingly correct nature of the unification of Transylvania with Romania. Not until later did Bela Kun, the head of the government of the Hungarian Soviets, understand the necessity of that objective process and express his approval of the Hungarian revolution as regards the formation of the Romanian single national state."

Accordingly the conclusion that the Entente's military intervention began on 16 April 1919 with the attack of the Romanian troops does not correspond to the historical facts, since the main objective of the Romanian army's action was to liberate all Transylvania. The leadership of the socialist movement in Romania did not oppose intervention in Hungary until after 1 May 1919, when the Romanian troops were on the Romanian-Hungarian frontier and the Hungarian Soviet government officially recognized the unification of Transylvania with Romania in a note to the Romanian government. The revolutionary movement in Romania sympathized with the revolution of the councils in Hungary.

Unfortunately the leading circles in Romania did nothing to establish state relations with the revolutionary government of Hungary but, on the contrary, took part in the

imperialist powers' intervention against the young Hungarian Soviet republic, in reply to the appeal of the reaction in Hungary.

It is asserted in the Hungarian historical literature that the Horthyite regime and its army were organized in the shelter of the Romanian occupation regime. The documents of the time make it clear that there were no relations at all between the Romanian command and the future Hungarian regent. On the contrary, hostility arose between them. In a talk on 20 September 1919 Horthy said, "The Austrians and Romanians are our enemies now. We shall measure our forces with theirs and I think we shall win out."

Horthy was brought to power by the Hungarian reaction together with the Supreme Council in Paris. The latter gave a mandate to its political representative in Budapest, Clerck, to make an agreement with Horthy for his troops to enter Budapest "after the departure of the Romanian troops."

At the end of 1919 negotiations started at the Paris Conference to finalize the peace treaty with Hungary.

Confronted with an accomplished fact in the masses' struggle for national self-determination in the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Peace Conference had to confirm an existing state of fact in the treaty with Hungary. For example, in the letter of 6 May 1920 handed to the Hungarian delegation along with the draft peace treaty A. Millerand, as chairman of the Peace Conference, declared that the forum in Paris did nothing but recognize a historical situation resolved by the peoples' struggle, which was also true in Romania's case. As it said in the letter, "The peoples' will was expressed in the days in October and November 1913 when the dual monarchy fell, to the effect that the long suppressed populations would join their Italian, Romanian, Yugo-slavian or Czechoslovakian brothers. A situation, even a millennary one, has no reason to endure when it has been found contrary to justice."

A month later, on 4 June 1920, the representatives of Romania and Hungary signed the Trianon Peace Treaty. Article 45 of the treaty provided that "For its part Hungary cedes to Romania the rights and titles of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy located beyond the frontiers of Hungary, as they are set in Article 27 Part II ("The Frontiers of Hungary") and recognized in the present treaty or in any other treaties concluded for that purpose, to regulate current affairs, since it is part of Romania."

Some foreign historians try to contest these facts even now, deplore the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, present that empire nostalgically, and conclude that the treaty was an act of imperialist politics, but the historical truth cannot be distorted. It serves no one to cultivate nostalgia for foreign domination or to maintain a demanding, irredentist spirit. The interests of the peoples who are building socialism require us to cultivate the traditions of unity and common struggle, to present the historical truth, and to draw conclusions concerning the united effort to build the new order.

10. The Social-Political Regime in Romania Between the Wars

There were a number of structural changes in Romanian society after 1918. The bourregiste, whose economic and political role had grown until they became a leading class
in the state, adopted a number of measures to consolidate the single national state
and, within it, their own economic and political positions. The agrarian reform,

whereby an area of more than 6 million hectares was expropriated from the big landowners and distributed to the peasants, helped to improve the paesants' condition and to develop capitalist relations in agriculture. The ratification of the new electoral law, which granted the right to a universal, equal, direct and secret ballot (except for the military and women), extended the masses' participation in political affairs.

In March 1923 a new constitution was adopted of a bourgeois-democratic nature that established the new realities of the Romanian single national state, in which the bourgeoisie had the leading role, but did not entirely exclude any influence of the land-owners.

The role of industry in the national economy was intensified by restoring and developing the existing enterprises and building new ones. Nevertheless the Romanian economy still had the characteristics of an underdeveloped, capitalist, industrial-agrarian economy.

The changes that took place in Romania, especially as a result of the agrarian reform and the expansion of the electoral system, produced major shifts in the social and class base of the political parties. The Conservative Party, a traditional political exponent of the landowners, left the political scene of the nation. By contrast, the National-Liberal Party, an exponent of the bourgeoisie, was favored by the objective process of national capitalist development and, with brief interruptions, dominated Romanian politics. Another bourgeois political party that played an important part in political affairs was the National Peasants Party, formed in 1926 by the merger of the Romanian National Party (in Transylvania) with the Peasants Party.

On the left of political affairs, in the main confrontation with the bourgeois political forces, was the workers and peasants movement, represented politically by the RCP, the Federation of Socialist Parties (formed in 1922 and transformed into the Social-Democratic Party), the Socialist Party of Workers in Romania (detached from the PSD /Social-Democratic Party) in June 1928), the Worker-Peasant Bloc (founded in October 1925), the Plowmens Front (formed in 1933), and the Union of Hungarian Workers in Romania (Madosz).

The General Congress of the Socialist Party in Romania in May 1921 assembled delegates from the whole country, united the labor movement on the national level, and decreed the transformation of the party to the Communist Party and its affiliation with the Third International. The brutal interruption of the proceedings by the arrest of the delegates on 12 May 1921 prevented the ratification of the party regulations and other decisions as well as the election of the central administrative organs and the party secretary general. The first RCP Central Committee and its first secretary general, in the person of Gheorghe Cristescu, were elected by the Second RCP Congress in October 1922.

The Second RCP Congress (Ploieste 1922), the third (Vienna 1924), the fourth (Kharkov 1928) and the fifth (Moscow 1931) reflected the efforts in the party's ranks to crystallize its general political policy and its strategy and tactics as well as the efforts toward organizational consolidation and strengthening of the party's ties with the masses.

But improper estimates of the realities of Romania were formulated in a number of documents, resolutions and decisions of the third and fourth congresses, and erroneous slogans concerning basic problems were launched, such as the slogan " ationalization of the Land" concerning the agrarian problem, the slogan "The Oppressed Peoples' Right to Self-Determination Until the Disappearance of the Romanian State," etc.

The Fifth RCP Congress determined the party's general policy, strategy and tactics and abandoned the slogan "Nationalization of the Land," but it kept a number of erroneous slogans and directions concerning the nationalities problem and that of the single workers front, as well as the erroneous description of the social-democrats as social-fascists.

The erroneous principles and slogans in the party documents are largely due to the direct and brutal interference of the Third International in party affairs, going so far as to appoint administrative personnel, including the party secretary general, from people who were not RCP members or who did not live in Romania and did not know the social and political conditions here.

The changes in Romanian society between the wars (growth of the economic and political role of the bourgeoisie, who became the leading class in the state, essential reduction of the economic and political positions of the landowners, and aggravation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, reflecting the basic contradiction in Romania's social structure) consisted of essential features of a bourgeois social-political regime, with retention of some landowner influences. The whole institutional system was of a bourgeois nature. This feature of the social-political regime was reflected in the class structure of parliament and of the system of the state and electoral mechanisms and also in the judicial system.

In its foreign relations Romania pursued a policy of peace and normal relations with all countries and especially with the neighboring states on a basis of equality and mutual observance of territorial integrity and national sovereignty. It militated for collective security and against the policy of territorial revision and revanchist wars.

Romania was a founding member of the League of Nations, wherein it made sustained efforts in delense of peace.

## 11. Threat of Fascism in Romania

As we know fascism came to power in Romania in September 1940, about two decades later than in other countries. For example, the Horthyite fascist dictatorship came to power in Hungary in 1970, fascism was inaugurated in the administration of Italy in 1922, the fascist dictatorship triumphed in Bulgaria in 1923, and in Portugal in 1926. Then the military dictatorship in Poland followed in 1926, the royal military dictatorship in Yugoslavia in 1929, and the Hitlerite fascist dictatorship in Germany in 1933. Fascism was enthroned in Austria in 1934, the military dictatorship came to power in Greece in 1936, and the fascist dictatorship was installed in Spain in 1939.

Rowanian politics between the wars were characterized by a constant confrontation between the revolutionary democratic forces and the reactionary forces of the right. Some reactionary nationalistic manifestations were known, which went as far as political assaults (muder of the prefect Manciu in Iasi in 1924 and assassination of Prime Minister I. G. Duca in 1934). Against this background, the Romanian democratic and progressive forces made a firm reply to the recrudescence of the legionary movement, as the Hitlerism arency in Romania barred the way to fascism and prevented is rise to power.

Fascism was not popular in Romania and it had no roots whatever in the masses because it was always struck down by a strong democratic, progressive movement led by the communists, who barred the way to its advancement on the Romanian political scene. In the fourth decade of this century the fascist organizations in Romania and especially the Iron Guard intensified their activity, which fact was the greatest threat to democracy, to the labor movement, and to the entire people. Under these circumstances the RCF, expressing the vital interests of the masses and the Romanian nation, militated actively to unite all the democratic and patriotic forces of the people against the internal and external danger of fascism and in defense of the independence and integrity of the Romanian state. The parties of the working class and dozens of legal and illegal mass organizations acted to this end, and hundreds of legal newspapers were published under the guidance of the Communist Party. The antifascist and antiwar demonstration on 1 May 1939 was memorable, and Nicolae Ceausescu played a leading role in its organization.

The Communist Party's heroic struggle in those years in the lead of the working class and that of some extensive progressive forces under the banner of democracy and national independence, as well as the rational attitude of some political groups of the leading classes, checked for a while the fascist organizations' rise to power and the nation's enslavement by Nazi Germany.

The inauguration of the Iron Guard fascist regime in September 1940 was the result of the external political upheavals from March 1930 to September 1939 in favor of the fascist powers, Romania's isolation and the collapse of its system of alliances, and the political crisis caused by the territorial cessions forced upon Romania in the summer of 1940 under the direct pressure of Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy.

# 12. Nature of Romanian Political Regime in 1940-1944

The legionary fascist regime in Romania was inaugurated in September 1940, when the international balance of power favored the fascist, revisionist and aggressive states and when World War II was in full course. Until the legionary rebellion in January 1941 the political base of the new regime was the Iron Guard, a terrorist organization of the fascist type. The German National Socialist Workers Party and the German Ethnic Group in Romania also had freedom of action. The other political parties were henceforth dissolved (an action decided by the royal dictatorship in February 1938).

The fascist nature of the political regime in Romania was also determined to a great extent by the domination of Hitlerite Germany. The political regime from 15 September 1940 to 23 January 1941 was that of a legionary fascist dictatorship of which the Iron Guard was the political expression. Regarding the rise of this fascist organization to the role of a main government power, Lucretiu Patrascanu said, "It was not the work of our ruling classes. The legionary movement was entrusted with power under Germany's control and on the initiative of the Mitlerite leadership for the sole benefit of the Nazi war machine for the purposes pursued in East and Southeast Europe by the Third Reich" (31).

The defeat of the legionary rebellion in January 1941 and their expulsion from the state administration made no essential changes in the nature of the regime or its foreign policy. In January 1941 Romania was governed by Ion Antonescu, who bore the title of state leader according to the prerogatives in September 1940. The established political regime was one of military-fascist dictatorship until 23 August 1944.

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# ELF. D. 14'S SETING DEPONDS ON CURRENT POLITICAL TOPICS

Selevade vetel the infoRMATIVNE NOVINE in Sert < patien So 1627, 7 Mar 82

'Injuryley with Franc Seting, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Learne of Townsists of Slovenia, by Aleksandar Novacici 'Asainst Illusious, in Favor of Realism'; date and place not specified)

Test ( [Mestims] Contact Seting, can the 12th congress confine itself salely to an amairsts of the Yugoslav situation without projecting specific ways of ceiting out of the difficulties, perhaps in the form of a new social and member reform?

Asser The congress would fail the test if it confined itself to analyzing the situation. It has in build a strategy for getting out of the crisis, and this in already becoming lear. I think that there will not be a new reform, what sind at new spilal reform would that be alongside the constitution, which to the anti-think which the property will be must implement?

(Direttyn) And m sciencelo refured

The besic postulates of the 1965 reform apply even today. In this area fore mist simply he more consistency in implementation. Whe can and lates to spend something which he dies not have! When we know that we have been arrived to which have in be repaid. Insistence on excessive spending and reference to some rights which have been acquired, regardless of what they has be, it a new to the imity of Themslavia.

The first in white of the basic positions and principles, the state-ownership to it is a win being recised, and self-management is being restricted....

There is a line tender ies. The situation at present is contradictory.

The situation at payments deficit, inflation,

the other it is or and for associated labor to become truly demi
The situation is difficult, and the apperment must intervene with def
into the other it is or and the apperment must intervene with def
into the situation of its interventionist measures. We have to be aware

that only those interventions which strengthen the political influence of the working class are justified.

[Question] How about debts?

[Answer] The issue of who will pay those debts is certainly an important one. It cannot be done by associated labor, it can only be done by the government, some say. I acknowledge that the temptation is great. We have large credits which we must repay, but here again the working class must have the decisive influence. Let the books be opened, let it be shown what sort of debts we have, who contracted the indebtedness, who must repay the money.... Let the working class also assume its responsibility here.

[Question] Is the shadow of administrative socialism again hovering over Yugoslavia in some way?

[Answer] It is making an appearance, it is not hovering. It exists as a possibility. I do not think that at this point that is some kind of treason and that one must immediately think in this connection of some other model and so on. Some people are merely seeking shortcuts, a cutting of corners, without seeing clearly where that leads.

[Question] I have noticed that in conversation you constantly go back to our debts.

[Answer] I am not thinking only of the debts as an amount of money. I am thinking more of the way of life we have. It has to change.

[Question] In some quarters the congress is expressly related to the principle of continuity, while others speak about a congress representing changes....

Answerl I think that the 12th congress will be both. The changes are based on continuity. I am referring above all here to self-management, to nonalignment, to the trie of the League of Communists and to Yugoslavia as a community based on equality. Only that kind of Yugoslavia can be strong, and any other kind would lead to friction, even to bloody conflicts such as there have been... However, since we can never be satisfied with what exists, especially not today, this must also be a congress of changes. It is not a question of whether new jours are opened in some spectacular way. The changes are already here, though in certain quarters we are not aware of that.

[Question] Are you referring there to vertain changes within the party it-

Answer Certainly. But now there is a great deal of talk about rederationtion of the party, though it seems to me that that is a consequence and not a range. The essence lies in the partialization of consciouences which begins you in the haste organizations of associated labor. This is one of the assess of the present situation. Party members are turned into advocates of individual interests, and they are not seem as a function of a subselve force. And thus a new consciousness comes about. It is not a question of changing

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the character of Yugoslavia, but of a need for party members, respecting the interests of their own community, to rise above those interests and to be a truly integrating force in society. We must always be mindful that the nationalities are a reality, that the republic is a reality, and that the basic organization is a reality....

[Question] But Yugoslavia is also a reality.

[Answer] Of course. The party member must be anchored in the base, but also able to build a cohesive Yugoslavia.

[Question] What in your opinion is the international aspect of our congress? That is, the Yugoslav congresses have always attracted a great deal of attention in the world.

[Answer] Even in the future our role will be all the greater insofar as we are successful in solving our internal problems. I would recommend modesty. Our place is important, but we dare not be teachers, and we dare not set ourselves up as tutors to tell others how to solve their problems. We do not allow others to impose solutions on us, and so we should not do this nor create of self-management some "real-self-management." Everyone has his own way, his own conceptions, and socialism consists of different streams running into the same river.

[Duestion] It is said that some of them have dried up.

[Answer] Some have dried up, and some have turned to mud. These are stagnant backwaters; but even that is not a catastrophe. There is always fresh water.

(Miestion) Are we well organized for a more effective role of the League of Communists?

[Univer] Not enough in my opinion. For example, if we adopt some resolution in a meeting of the Central Committee, this is only the first step and as a gractical matter does not mean anything in particular. It is not enough to tell the members of the League of Communists that these are the stands taken in the Central Committee and that they are to be guided by them. Experience has about that we adopt one resolution, we assume that it will be carried out in and of itself, and a year later we see that this is not happening, we adopt the first one, and thus we run around in a cir-

In some places the 2-year or 4-year term of office is being introduced instead of the 1-year term. Is that a departure from Tito's initiative contenting sallective work?

| wester | The Slovenian delegation visited Tito in December, just before he because ill. At that time we openly told Com ade Tito that we were not against the intrative and collective work, but that we were taking a broader view of this. That is, that democracy cannot be reduced merely to the question of the

l-year term of office, but to democratization of the entire forum, and beyond that, of the entire society. These are decisive issues. After all, if someone has power during his term of office, then this is not a consequence of the time he spends in that particular office. We cannot alter this solely by saying that he is to stay I year instead of 4.

[Question] What was Tito's answer to you?

(Answer) What he said was approximately this: when I took that initiative. I was not thinking of a linear application, but that things should be thought through, and if time shows that some particular thing is not good, then we will change it. Though this is not a quote, I think that this shows quite well the flexible attitude of Comrade Tito, who showed understanding toward our assessment. I conclude from that Tito did look upon his initiative as precisely that, as a possibility of finding the best solution through various versions, and not as a firm formula, not to say dogma. The emphasis was on democratization of life as a whole, and everything else follows from that. We in Slovenia decided to make the term of office 2 years, with the possibility of extension for another 2 years.

[Question] Recently there has been quite a bit of talk about manifestations of nationalism in various quarters in Yugoslavia. How is i. In Slevenia?

[Answer] They recently asked me in a seminar whether interethnic relations were in crisis? I answered that they are not, but the illusion that this has been solved once and for all and that in the future we will not have any difficulties whatsoever is in crisis. I mentioned Kardelj's idea that we will face this issue for a long time yet and that alongside the healthy course of our revolution there will be at least two other tendencies. One is nationalism in the form of separatism, and the other in the form of bureaucratic centralism and unitarianism. To be sure, the boundaries here are not rigid, and we have seen in the example of Kesovo that separatism can also emerge as burequeratic degnatism. I this that we will confront these problems for a long time yet and that as Marxists we must be aware of that. We dare not harbor illusions. Some people think, for instance, that Yugoslavia was must ideal after the war, when we had great centralization and when for objective reasons we put less emphasis on the republics. I am afraid of which illusions. Even the lies of community spirit is sometimes associated with reflections of that aind. I do not mean to say that at the present time a majority of those who spens about community consensus are thinking in exactly those terms, but I do say that there are those who when they use that term are not referring to brotherhood and unity, to equality, to a correct conception of Yugoslavia, but who think of this only as a slogan, while in actuality they think that all the difficulties would be resulved if there were no republics, provinces, and so

There is nationalism everywhere, and it is all the more dangerous if we do not confet it.

[One-tion | Des it exist in Seventa?

Answer! It does.

[questin] I was referring to the statement that there is no true nationalism in Slovenia.

[Answer] We did not say that.

[Question] You did not say it, but it was said by the chairman of the Slovenian Language Court.

Answer] I do not think this was well understood. He said that in the debate on language and in the letters received by the Language Court he had not seen true nationalism, and that accordingly certain rather free declarations ought not to be proclaimed nationalism without much thought. That is what he was thinking, and it seems to be that that statement of his was given an inappropriate interpretation.

As you know, we have been conjucting a discussion of the Slavenian language, and me of the miles was in fact the danger of nationalism, lest the nationalists take advantage of our lack of vigilance and easy attitude toward the language. We entered into that problem area with a desire in cut off the local for nationalists in advance. Much the same is the case with the problem it workers from their republic who live in Slovenia. Were we to leave concern about their position, about the preservation of their language, about the problem of their farguage, about the problem of their farguage. That is community, to others, and should we remain to those problems, then that is something the nationalists could be accommonly.

After that meeting we received namy letters, including letters from Levila, we see it of the that there is a misunderstanding. We, if course, were a rituality a momenty commons or the idea of ing slavia, which is based and equality of all the rationalities and ethnic minerities, on Brother-country, and as the prior well-known principles. We were criticizing errors illustrate of these who still feel that jugoslavia would be more unified if there were not the various "burdens," by which they mean the national and its particularities. We were actually talking about unitariation.

(Oversion) Now that we are dualing with those factors about you comment on the fact that being than its million of our altitions declared themselves to be found to the foundation of content terminals.

by the de with mised marriage. That is, of course, fine, and it is a good thin that the constitution efforts the possibility of that declaration. But I would be wrong if people were to get the idea that this is now the height produced in that is the only true spirit of Yugoslavia, while extend the classical marriage in the tentions, that there would be appropriately in a constraint of the sentiments appropriate if we construct to establish unity more repidly, by which the appropriate in the that the right was.

[Question] You have been a newsman. How do you look upon the fact that recently there has been so much talk about journalism, more perhaps than ever before? What are the reasons for this?

[Answer] They lie in the seriousness of the situation. But regardless of how difficult the situation is, nervousness is no salvation. We cannot have an ideal situation in the press when we have the kind of situation we have. It is not a question now of "putting pressure" on newsmen, but of our opening up as much as possible. The working people need to be given complete information. Incidentally, they are not naive, they have their eyes open, they feel the situation on their own skin. Concealment is fear, and opening up information is a guarantee that we will find a way out.

[Overtion] In some places information that is openly ritical is associated with liberalism.

[Answer] I do not think that there is not a certain liberalism in the press. But liberalism in the sense that we do not take the offensive enough and do not react in good time to certain things. We allow events to take their own course and adopt an attitude of waiting: it could go that way, but it could also go this way. That is liberalism.

[Question] How do you view the appearance of Delijer's book?

[Answer] I think the essence of the matter does not lie in the fact that the book was published. The essence lies in the question of low wisters is treated, how on the one hand to prevent mystification and on the other a rewriting, an embellishment, a falsification of the revolution, our attitude must be crystal clear about this. In addition, we also need to their at the relationship between pulities and the historian. After all, regulars of the respect for the individuality of every politician, we must know what the said in his name and what happens when it is a question of respectivity for truth. For the league of Communists and so mo. If the party aparties in public and democratically, then this cannot be Defaurable. The must be read to thing is when there is no position which can then be appeared in democratically at the mich can then be appeared by argument.

IQuestion) What lesson would you draw from this "case"?"

Abover! The discussion can remain at the samplerly level in both writing and tritinism. History is a great thing, and therefore the responsibility lowerd it is great. It cannot pertain only to certain "compribations," looying it to the choices themselves to choose what they like and what they don't in all that There were also difficult moments in the revolution, and we cannot said them from young people, since they will nevertheless looks about it comes in the later. History does not forget a othing.

Aftertion) The topic of Golf Diok has driven attention recently. In Alexandria a new i which won a price has been published on the solute. Must use the results of the Birmenian public? Here you read it?

Inswer! Yes, I have, as for the reaction, it was not very strong. To be sure, the young people did say: we did not know there was anything like that. And aside from that they wondered whether it truly was that way, whether that was the truth? For instance, my son said that it was a great thing for this to be written about openly. It you say that you have a blemish somewhere in Jur history, then that is also something encouraging, is it not? That is a quarantee that nothing like that will occur again.

(Duestion) The objections, so we hear, were that the topic of the Cominform is it tiles reduced solely to the problem of Goli Otok.

Answer: It would be a great untruth and a mistake it we were to reduce the from sold; to wall Otok. And that danger does exist. We should know that it it time we were all in a great danger. Yugoslavia was in a great that, and new to see, so to speak, the blemish on one side and not to extend that the mass, when not only the destiny of the state and the were in jeograph, but in act the destiny of every individual—that the sided approach a lie does not explain to the young peneration the total the state.

The test there cannot be any tabout topics if I might return to the idea of a side a great responsibility to history. It cannot be embellished.

Individual canomicality his own role. There is an ethical standtest of course, it as a proplem of artistic imagination to shed light on
the file way. All writers are not capable of that. An imapprotilly define the file of the fil

The tipe the life fit uption my individual with rooms the principal of the fittings. At course even the individual is a product of my line and participated in correct time, requisitions, the creation of the coeperatives, and so on. Some time, requisitions a mature that today they would deserve condended that the converged that I was define that the converged that I was defined the converged that I was defined that I was defined the converged that I was defined that I was defined the converged the converged that I was defined the converged the converged the converged the converged that I was defined the converged the converged the converged the converged the converged the c

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# ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION IN SERBIA IN PROSPECT

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1625, 21 Feb 82 pp 14-15, 17

[Article by Dragan Jovanovic: "The More It Changes ..."]

[Text] The news from the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly which has been carried by the newspapers to the effect that the new law on the republic administration will cut in half the number of republic secretarists has not gone unnoticed. The press is already speaking about the "important change of direction." The idea has been taken up in the public with the hope that this change will finally make the executive power not only more effective and cheaper, but that it will reduce its growing political power. It really does seem to be an extremely radical stroke. Of the 20 some secretariats only four will remain: for national defense, for internal affairs, for finance, and for jurisprudence and administration. The other secretariats will be "compressed" into committees. Instead of the secretary as an executive officer and his secretariat, it is proposed that there be a chairman of a committee which will act is a collective body and will decide with joint responsibility of both the commuilar and the chairman or matters which up to now have been decided by the "secretary personally" with a signature which has still been reminiscent of the "ministerial" signature.

The idea at collective direction even in the executive branch of government was born immediately after life's initiative, and them it somehow died out. More serious thought became to be given to it once again last year, when the draft tersion of the law on the republic administration was approved in the Executive Council. It has now become a bill, new, of course, that the public discussion has been add. And now only the delegates remain to have their there are to no doubt that they will give resolute support to this idea, and no one knows better than they what it means to wrestle with a powerful afficient tion that helps a large share of the power of the assembly in its

The disting of our executive branch in the recent past demonstrates this clearly.

"That Is the Way It Has Been for Decades"

Since the spring of the last year of the deputies up until the present there have been increasingly frequent references to the danger of the ever greater political power of the republic administration in Serbia. The March meeting of the Republic Executive Council that year, 1973, was devoted to a criticism of the work of the republic administration "in the light of Comrade Tito's letter."

The commission of the RIV [Republic Executive Council] for the political system then "cut in half" the demand that another 400 people be hired in the republic administration.

Thus "elimination of the hierarchical relations that had prevailed for long years in the republic administration of Serbia" was announced in March 1973. The newspapers wrote that "the foundations of the increasingly cumbersome pyrami: of office-bolders is beginning to be undermined, and that in the office-bolders described the republic sovernment!"

The most suitable person to talk with at that time was Zika Radojlovic, member of the RIV, who was responsible for personnel. "The present hierarchical relations are untenable," Radojlovic said at that time, "beginning with trifles: a higher rank automatically means a higher salary, an apartment, and all of this creates differences between officeholders off the job as well, larger privileges. That is the way it has been for decades."

Sweething was attempted. Amendments were made, say, in the Regulation on Maleine under which the undersecretary received an apartment for no longer than I years. The opportunity also existed for an adviser, for example, to higher salary than his superior, though in practice this did not hap-

The principal purpose of the innounced "dismantling" of the republic administration apparatus—will wis also debated by the deputies of the Assembly of Longitist Republic | Serbia, was to "bridge the gap between the number of fitted olders and the number of experts." This was supposedly to be achieved in a law way that the feeding experts (department heads, special advisors and their directions will be enabled when it was a question of their fields to the secretary before the charbers of the assembly and in the properties of the secretary before the charbers of the assembly and in the field of the government" (!?) The rationale behind that was that this would the replication and position of bureaucrats who are experts and would be replicated as a subservience and a failure of the conscience of the latter, and of which is part and parcel of the bureaucratic relationship for the same and the replication work with.

tow man of this declared "large-scale noiseeleaning" and "tressing develop the normalde" was done?

Perhaps we speak for harship, but almost -nothing. In December 1974 it was at 15-1 in a debate in the assembly: "Although back last summer it was estimated on the backs of a study of the Republic Euresu for Seneral Administration

that the pyramid of officeholders and administrators is continuing to grow, fertile soil for its growth continues to exist."

Here is one deputy's observation on this topic: "The so-called 'high-level bureaucrat' 'adviser, assistant secretary, undersecretary) who is as a rule the 'right-hand man' of the highest officeholder, is aware that he perhaps is better versed in affairs and moreover can offer his superior something that does not follow solely from 'dry' figures, but offers as well his political stand or even his own interest as a careerist."

The Administration in the Delegate System

The administration showed the greatest resourcefulness in the new situation that came about in 1974 with introduction of the delegate system. What is more, the republic administration perhaps even strengthened its power in an alliance with the parallel republic SIZ [self-managing community of interest] "ministries." This process was reproduced at the regional and opstina levels as well. Creation of the region was a new link and hotbed for growing administrations, which had not been foreseen. There was even fierce criticism by those who warned of the danger of the region as a "ministate."

"The specialized staff services of the republic and regional communities of interest received backing for everything they were doing and more and more took on the appearance of government fiscal agencies," said Zivan Vasiljevic, president of the first Serbian Assembly after adoption of the delegate system. Zivorad Kovacevic, president of the Assembly of Belgrade, referred to this as "complete confusion." The old opstina administration will behave in a similar way. Only in 4 of the 114 opstina executive councils in Serbia were there a few workers, and it would be recorded as a curiosity when there was even one peasant sitting in the Bela Palanka "government"; in some places entire old opstina "teams" of bureaucrats passed over into the executive councils. To tell the truth, this also happens with the "disinvested" republic executive council, which was now called the Executive Council of the Assembly of Serbia. The newspapers had a slogan: "The old government in a new fleece."

That would also be "acknowledged" in a way by Dusan Ckrebic, chairman of the new Executive Council as early as the end of the first year of that term of office:

"The tasks which the constitution has made the obligations of the new republic executive power have not been fully performed in practice. In 87 percent of the cases the Executive Council was the proponent of the relevant acts and materials, and of the numerous acts adopted in this period of less than a year, only 2 were not proposed by the council.

Two Interesting "Pictures"

It is still rare for the officeholders in the republic administration to answer the questions of the delegates that are put during a meeting of the chamber of the assembly. They continue to provide answers 2 or 3 months later, when the response is often not even necessary any longer. They continue to

write incomprehensible "novels" for the delegates. Finally, one unprecedented motion would be made: "That the assembly commission for informing the delegates be authorized to act as a 'filter' for all materials coming from the Executive Council and to return those that are cumbersome and confusing." Of course, the proposal failed to pass. After all, the position taken by the Executive Council was that "not a word was to be changed in material submitted to the assembly"! Thus in just the first 10 months of the term of office the delegate had to read 7,127 pages!

The Bureau for Public Administration was commissioned in 1975 to "take a picture" of every job in the republic administration and to evaluate the extent to which the members of that administration were (un)employed. The "picture" showed an annual increase in the number of employees between 10 and 20 percent, "which is socially untenable." The specialized staff services of the republic communities of interest alone had 720 staff members that year.

Another "picture" (1976) needed for recording all personnel in Serbia showed that "people elected to political office are mainly from Belgrade and—the republic administration":

"Officeholders appointed by the Executive Council, for example, by and large circulate from the republic agencies and the administration. Thus of the 62 officeholders appointed over the last 2 years, 45 had worked in administrative agencies, 12 outside the administration, and only 5 of them came from the economy," said Miodrag Bogdanovic, president of the Commission for Personnel Affairs of the Executive Council. In that first term of office under the delegate system the Council was enriched with still "another format"—the committees of the Executive Council. These were made up of members of the Council and high officials in the republic administration. Their main task was to "prepare" what was to come before the meetings of the Executive Council, and also after them, "if things had not been altogether clarified." These bodies operated "altogether underground" so that for a long time even the newsmen did not know about them, and when they did learn it, they were unable to attend their meetings.

Has anything essentially changed in this last term of office, the current term in the delegate system? It is difficult to give an affirmative answer.

After all, on 5 May 1978 the newly elected Executive Council of this term of office was more numerous than the previous one, there were five vice chairmen of the Executive Council elected, and the Council's secretary also officially became an equal member of the government. In addition to the 15 republic secretaries, another 12 members of the Executive Council were also elected. Naturally, the broadening of the apex of the pyramid was also followed by a broadening of the base.

It soon became evident that this had gone too far. Immediately after the annual vacation, at the August meeting in 1978, when it was assessed that "the Council as an executive body of the assembly is operating to a considerable extent under the influence of remnants of the old practice and relations," it was said that "the republic agencies and various staff services should be

reinforced," but that "the administrative apparatus must not be allowed to expand." The Council also adopted a decision that the staff services which were on the republic budget could not hire a single person up until the end of that year, 1978! In May 1979 the Executive Council examined the program of the effort to carry out Tito's initiative concerning collective work and leadership in the Executive Council and republic administrative agencies. It was proposed at that time that a law be adopted on the government and republic administration. In November there was another debate in the Council on the topic: How To Make the Government Administration More Effective and Cheaper? Nothing at all new was said.

In March 1980 the draft of the law on the republic administration was put up for public discussion. There were quite a few serious criticisms. One of them went: "When the law is adopted, will any kind of serious step be taken toward reorganizing and modernizing the republic administration?"

### Finally--Committees

In December 1980 the Executive Council approved the draft of a decision under which workers in republic agencies who did not have the schooling to qualify them for their jobs would be discharged as of 9 March 1982. More accurately, by this March they were supposed to have been assigned to jobs they did qualify for or to have acquired the training they needed.

The draft of the law on the republic administration was finally approved last June. From that time until this January it was up for public discussion, and it again came before the Executive Council, which "promoted" it to a bill. There were few items on the agenda which took the Executive Council 5 hours of debate. That was the length of the debate of the bill on the republic administration; that was a debate "about our own skins."

And what is really changing?

Instead of republic secretariats for transportation, agriculture, urban development, labor, information, health and legislation, there will in future be republic committees which will be headed by committee chairmen instead of the present republic secretaries. Some areas which up until now have been independent will be "compressed" under a single committee—fuel and power and industry, foreign relations and commerce, and education and science will be combined with culture. It is natural that there have also been objections to the combining and separation of the areas. Everyone's view depends on where he is sitting. And there was also criticism that now "even the committees as collective bodies would suffer from the—lack of a quorum," and that "there would not be enough room for the meetings of the committees"!?

At this point it really is difficult to say whether the present number of employees in the republic administration is sufficient or perhaps excessive for the jobs awaiting the new committees. Without wishing to predict anything, at the end of this article on the reorganization of the republic administration over the last 10 years, we will give the figures on the number of employees in those bodies and agencies: 3,507 in 1973; 4,735 in 1975; 5,750 in 1980. How many will there be in 5 years?

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